AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 7. Nos. 2-3 — JUNE-SEPTEMBER 1948

NOTES ON THE NOUN CLASSES OF SWATI [1] AND NREBELE [2]

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SPEECH-SOUNDS IN SWATI AND NREBELE

The Vowels

Only the symbols *o*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *a* will be employed in both languages. They represent the same value as they do in Zulu.

The Consonants

The reader is referred to the consonantal charts. (See p. 60 and p. 61).

The following symbols will be used for reasons of simplification:

In Swati: ts for *tsh: tf* for *tfh: ng* for *both ŋg* and *ŋ* (*ŋ* is found in syllables which are not the first of a stem: *lilanga* for *lilaŋa* (sun), *singani* for *siŋgani* (lover); *h* for *x*; *hh* for *h*; further as in Zulu. Glides and glottal stops will not be written.

In Nrebele: *ɓ* for bilabial *v*; *nkx* for *ŋkx'*; *nkxh* for *ŋkx(h)*; *ng* for *ŋg*; *nng* for *ŋŋg*; *nkh* for *ŋkh*; *j* for *dʒ*; *nj* for *ɲdʒ*; *ny* for *ɲ*; *nny* for *ɲɲ*; *(n)t* for *(n̥)t'*; *(n)d* and *(n)th* are cerebrally articulated; *k* is palatal *k* before *–e*; glides and glottal stops are not written.

THE NOUN CLASSES COMPARED WITH THAT OF ZULU

Classes 1 *and* 2 [3]

This is the class for persons, No. 2 being the plural of no. 1.

Class 1:		plural class 2:	
Z. [4]	*umu–, um–*	*Z.*	*aɓa–, aɓe–, aɓ–*
S.	*umu–, um–*	*S.*	*ɓa–, ɓe, ɓ–*
N.	*mu–*	*N.*	*ɓa–*
S.:	*umuntfu* person, pl. *ɓantfu*, *umfati* woman *ɓafati*,	N.:	*munru* person *ɓanru* *mufati* woman *ɓafati*

[1] Swati (*siSwati, siNgwane*), commonly known in its Zulu-ized form as Swazi, is the language of Swaziland and adjacent districts of the Transvaal. It belongs to the "*tekela*" group of the Nguni cluster. Several dialectical variations are spoken. (The verb *kutekela*, "to tell, to relate", is also used to indicate the employment of *t'* where Zulu-Xhosa has *z* (*t'imbut'i* for *izimbuzi*, "goats"). The term *zunda*, on the other hand, indicates the use of *z* where Swazi has *t'*, for instance when a Swazi tries to speak Zulu or as some Swazi clans do, using Zulu speech-sounds but Swazi grammar. The term *tsitsita* is also used in connection with Swazi speech. It indicates the employment of the *ts* and *dz* sounds where Zulu-Xhosa has *th* and *d* respectively (*thatha*; *tshatsha*, "take").

[2] Nrebele (*siNreɓele*) is one of the Northern Transvaal Ndebele dialects and is spoken in the District of Potgietersrust in the Transvaal. The speaking of their peculiar language is called *kusumaela*.

[3] Class numbers are those of Meinhof.

[4] For Zulu examples see Prof. DOKE's *Text-book of Zulu Grammar*. Z. = Zulu; S. = Swati; N. = Nrebele. Z. will be referred to for comparative purposes.

Chart of Consonants in Swati

		Bilabial	Denti-labial	Alveolar	Alveolar bilabial	(Pre-) palatal	Velar	Velar 'Rauschlaut'	Lateral	Glottal
EXPLOSIVES	Radical						*k*			
	Nasal-Radical	*mp*		*nt* [1]			*ŋk*			
	Ejective			*t'*						
	Nasal-Ejective			*nt* [2]						
	Aspirate	*ph*		*th*			*kh*			
	Nasal-Aspirate									
	Voiced	*b*		*d* [2]			*g*			
	Nasal-Voiced	*mb*		*nd* [2]			*ŋg*			
IMPLOSIVE		*ɓ*								
NASAL		*m*		*n*		*ɲ*	*ŋ*			
FRICATIVES	Radical		*f*	*s*		*ʃ*	*x*	*x̌*	*hl*	*h*
	Nasal-Radical		*mf*	*ns*		*nʃ*			*nhl*	
	Voiced		*v*	*z* [2]					*dl*	
	Nasal-Voiced		*mv*	*nz*					*ndl*	
AFFRICATES	Radical									
	Nasal-Radical			*nts*	*ntf*					
	Ejective			*ts'*		*tf'*	*kx'*			
	Nasal-Ejective			*nts'*		*ntf'*				
	Aspirate			*tsh*	*tfh*					
	Nasal-Aspirate									
	Voiced			*dz*	*dv*	*dʒ*			*l*	
	Nasal Voiced			*ndz*	*ndv*	*ɲdʒ*				
SEMI-VOWELS				*w*		*y*				

[1] In modern speech *nt* is spoken for the older form *nt'*.

[2] These sounds are importations from *zunda* dialects. *Nd* is also dialectically used for *nt* : *emant'i, emanti, emandi* (water).

[3] As certain sounds occur in homorganic nasal compounds (with **ni–*) only I have deemed it advisable to include such compounds in this chart.

Click sounds occur in Swati. The lateral click *x* which is found in Zulu-Xhosa does not occur in Swati. The clicks written *c* and *q* in Zulu-Xhosa are both found in Swati but are mixed up or used as alternatives, cf. :

Zulu *xoxa* (relate), Swazi *qoqa* or *coca* ;

Zulu *qoqa* (gather), Swazi *qoqa* or *coca*.

We shall write *c* only. The following varieties occur :

c : *cala* (begin) ; *ch* : *chuɓa* (push) ; *nc* : *ncenga* (implore) ; *ngc* : *ngcwaɓa* (bury) ; *gc* : *gcoba* (pound) ; *nkc* : *inkcaɓule* (sandal).

Chart of Consonants in Nrebele

		Bilabial	Denti-labial	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Cerebral	Palatal	Velar-Palatal	Velar	Lateral
EXPLOSIVES	Radical							*k*[3]	*k*	
	Nasal-Radical[1]									
	Ejective			*t'*						*tl'*
	Nasal-Ejective			*n̪t'*						
	Aspirate	*ph*				*th*			*kh*	*tlh*
	Nasal-Aspirate					*nth*			*nkh*	
	Voiced	*b*		*d̪*		*d*			*g*	*dl*[5]
	Nasal-Voiced	*mb*				*nd*			*ŋg*	*ndl*
IMPLOSIVE										
NASAL		*m*			*n*		*ɲ*		*ŋ*	
FRICATIVES	Radical		*f*		*s*		*ʃ*			*hl*
	Nasal-Radical		*mf*		*ns*	*ns*				*nhl*
	Voiced	*v*	*v*		*r*[2]		*j*		*ɣ*	
	Nasal-Voiced		*mv*							
AFFRICATES	Radical									
	Nasal–Radical								*nkx*	
	Ejective				*ts'*		*tʃ'*		*kx'*	
	Nasal-Ejective								*nkx'*	
	Aspirate						*tʃh*			
	Nasal-Aspirate									
	Voiced				*dz*		*dʒ*			*l*
	Nasal-Voiced					*nr*[4]	*ndʒ*			
SEMI-VOWELS		*w*					*y*			

[1] As certain sounds occur in homorganic nasal compounds (with **ni–*) only I have deemed it advisable to include such compounds in this chart.

[2] Rolled *r* is heard in words imported from Sotho, but has nevertheless become part and parcel of the language.

[3] This *k* sounds like *ky*. It occurs before *e* only.

[4] *nr* which sounds like *ndr*, as well as the other cerebral sounds, is produced with the tip of the tongue slightly behind the alveolum (post-alveolar). The *d* is not "flapped" or "retroflex" like that of Sotho.

[5] This is not the sound in Zulu *–dla* (eat) but rather that found in the Zulu nasal compound *ndl*. The Zulu variety is not found in Nrebele ; *tl* and *tlh* are of Sotho origin.

umtsakatsi sorcerer *ßatsakatsi*,
umelusi herd-boy *ßelusi*,
umlumbi European *ßelumbi*.

muthakathi sorcerer *ßathakathi*
mutlhangana boy *ßatlhangana*.

Classes 1*a and* 2*a*

Class 1a includes proper names and kinship terms, class 2a being the plural. Class 2a also indicates "those with" as "John and those with him" (Afrikaans Jan-hulle).

Class 1a : Z. *u–* plural class 2a : Z. *o–*, *awo–*
S. *u–*, (*u–*) S. *ßo–*
N. – N. *ßo–*.

In both Swati and Nrebele there are two types of nouns in class 1a. In Swati the first type always has the prefix *u–* while the second type may use *u–* as prefix but may also discard it; this prefix will be written (*u–*). In N. the type corresponding to the Swazi first type sometimes commences in a vowel. The first type follows the rule of "substitution of *e*" when preceded by the possessive concord or the formatives *na–*, *nga–* (N. *ga–*) *nganga–* (N. *ganga–*) *njenga* (N. *njega–*) ; the second type does not follow this rule.

Type 1 : S. *uyihlo* your father *ßoyihlo*
N. *iyihlo* your father *ßoiyihlo*
S. *uyise* his father *ßoyise*
N. *iyise* his father *ßoiyise*.
S. *unyoko* your mother *ßonyoko*
N. *nnyoko* your mother *ßonnyoko*
S. *unina* his mother *ßonina*
N. *nnina* his mother *ßonnina*.

Type 2 : This includes all proper names ; also
S. (*u*)*ßaße* my father *ßoßaße*
N. *baba* my father *ßobaba*
S. (*u*)*make* my mother, N. *mma* my mother
S. (*u*)*malume* maternal uncle, N. *malume* maternal uncle
S. (*u*)*mkhulu* grandfather, N. *nkhulu* grandfather
S. (*u*)*gogo* grandmother, N. *gugu* grandmother
S. (*u*)*sheleni* shilling
S. (*u*)*loheya* hawk
S. (*u*)*ntokanje* So-and-so.

Examples of the use of the two types of nouns:

Type 1 : S. *ngihamba neyihlo* I walk with your father
N. *ndikhamba neyihlo* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
S. *inja yeyise* his father's dog
N. *nnja yeyise* his father's dog

Type 2 : S. *ngihamba naßaße* I walk with father
N. *ndikyamba nababa* ,, ,, ,, ,,
S. *inja yamalume* uncle's dog
N. *nnja yamalume* uncle's dog.

Classes 3 *and* 4

Many natural phenomena are found in class 3 including plants, rivers, parts of the body and even animals and insects. Class 4 is the plural of class 3.

Class 3 : Z. *umu–, um–*
S. *umu–, um–*
N. *mu–, mm–*
S. *umtimba* body *mitimba*,
umphimbo throat *imiphimbo*,
umfula river *imifula*
umßala leg *imißala*
umutsi medicine *imitsi*.

Class 4 : Z. *imi–, im–*
S. *imi–, im–*
N. *mi–*
N. *mutimba* body *mitimba*,
muɣolo throat *miɣolo*
mulambo river *milambo*
mmala colour *mißala*
mmeva thorn *mißeva*.

Classes 5 *and* 6

Class 5 is a *miscellaneous* class but includes many objects occurring in pairs; fruits, etc. Loan-words are usually found in this class. Class 6 is the plural of class 5. It also includes liquids which have no singular.

Class 5 : Z. *i–, ili–*
S. *li–*
N. *li–*
S. *litshe* stone *ematshe*,
lifu cloud *emafu*,
lijoti native watermelon *emajoti*,
emafutsa fat,
emanti water,
liso eye *emehlo*,

Class 6 : Z. *ama–*
S. *ema–*
N. *ma–*
N. *liye* stone *maye*
lifu cloud *mafu*
liphuti pumpkin *maphuti*
lihloka axe *mahloka*
mafutha fat
manti water
liso eye *mahlo*.

Classes 7 *and* 8

Class 7 is a miscellaneous class including nouns that indicate instruments, animals, parts of the body, persons, etc.

Class 7 : Z. *isi–, is–*
S. *si–, s–*
N. *si–, s–*
S. *sandla* hand *tandla*
sitsendze heel *titsendze*,
silima dunce *tilima*,
sicatfulo shoe *ticatfulo*,
sisu stomach *tisu*,

Class 8 : Z. *izi–, iz–*
S. *ti–, t–*
ti–, t–
N. *sandla* hand *tandla*
sithende heel *tithende*
sidlayela dunce *tidlayela*
sikxaßula shoe *tikxaßula*
sisu stomach *tisu*.

Classes 9 *and* 10

Class 9 is mainly that for animals but also includes other objects. Class 10 is the plural. Both these classes are well known on account of the sound changes they produce in consonants (also called nasalization).

In Zulu affricates are produced and aspiration is dropped. In Swazi aspiration is dropped as in Zulu but no affricates are produced. Instead the preceding vowel is nasalized and the nasal may even drop out. This nasalization of the vowels occur before *s, f, z, v* and even *hl* and *dl*. For practical purposes the nasal will always be written:

insimi land for *ĩsimi* [1]
inkunzi bull for *iŋkũzi*
imvußu for *ĩmvußu* hippopotamus
imfe for *ĩmfe* sugar-cane
inhloko for *ĩnhloko* head.

Note: Owing to difficulty of type, the symbol *ĩ* and *ũ* are used in this article to represent the nasalized vowels.

In N. the nasal is retained in class 9 with all voiceless nasal compounds but the nasal is dropped in class 10 : voiced nasal compounds retain the nasal in both class 9 and class 10. The nasal compound *ny* (*ɲ*) is "doubled" in class 9 becoming *nny* (*ɲɲ*), but is *ny* in class 10 ; a few monosyllabic noun stems also double the prefix of class 9.

S.		N.	
intfo	thing *tintfo*	*nnro*	thing *tinro*
inja	dog *tinja*	*nnja*	dog *tinja*
inso	kidney *tinso*	*nso* [1]	kidney *tiso*
indlu	house *tindlu*	*nndlu*	house *tindlu*
imfe	sugar-cane *timfe*	*mfe*	sugar-cane *tife*
ingwe	tiger *tingwe*	*nngwe*	tiger *tingwe*
inyoka	snake *tinyoka*,	*nnyoka*	snake *tinyoka*
inyanga	doctor *tinyanga*	*nnyanga*	doctor *tinyanga*
inkomo	beast *tinkomo*	*nkxomo*	beast *tikxomo*
imfene	baboon *timfene*	*mfene*	baboon *tifene*
inhlitiyo	heart *tinhlitiyo*	*nhlitiyo*	heart *tihlitiyo*
ingwenya	crocodile *tingwenya*	*ngwenya*	crocodile *tingwenya*
imvubu	hippopotamus *timvubu*	*mvubu*	hippopotamus *timvubu*
imbuti	goat *timbuti*	*mbuti*	goat *timbuti*
indzawo	place *tindzawo*	*ndawo*	place *tindawo*
intsaba	mountain *tintsaba*	*nraba*	mountain *tinraba*
impumulo	nose *timpumulo*	*mbumbulo*	nose *timbumbulo*
indlovu	elephant *tindlovu*	*ndlovu*	elephant *tindlovu*

Class 11

This is a miscellaneous class. The plural for this class is class 10 which produces nasal compounds.

In Swati many words of this class are used with the *li–* prefix, class 5. In N. this prefix has merged into class 5, the plural is in some cases still formed with class 10.

Class 11 : Z. *u–*, *ulu–* plural *izin–*
S. *lu–* plural *tin–*
N. *li–* plural *ti–*.

S. words found in class 11 and class 5 :

ludziwo, *lidziwo* claypot
lugebuta, *ligebuta* pot-sherd
lufudvo, *lifudvo* tortoise
lutswai, *litswai* salt, (*ts*=*ts'*)
lulululwane, *lilululwane* bat.

The following nouns are always used in class 11 in Swati:

lutsi stick *tintsi* (phonetically *lutshi* and *t'intsi*)
lukhuni fire-wood *tinkuni*
luphuya pauper *timpuya*
luswane baby *tinswane*
lubambo rib *timbambo* (Note the *b* in the singular, Z. *ubambo*).

Some words in this class do not seem to be used in the plural: *luɓisi* (also as *liɓisi*) milk ; *lukhula* weeds ; *lutswai* salt ; *lutaka* bark-rope.

[1] This *ns* is pronounced cerebrally.

Nouns of which the stem commences in *l* has *ti–* as plural prefix ; *lulala* new kraal, *tilala*, etc.

The following N. nouns have *li–* as singular prefix but take *ti–* for the plural :

litipho (finger) nail, *titipho*, cf. S *luzipho*, Z. *uzipho*
likxuni fire-wood, *tikxuni*, cf. S. *lukhuni*, Z. *ukhuni*
liphondo horn, *timbondo* and *maɓondo*, cf. S. *luphondvo*, Z. *uphondo*.

The following nouns have been absorbed into class 5 :

limbiko wing, *mambiko*, cf. S. *luphiko*, Z. *uphiko*
liɓisi milk, cf. S. *luɓisi*, Z. *uɓisi*
liwoɓu chameleon, S. *lunwaɓu*, Z. *unwaɓu*.

Class 14

This is the class for abstract nouns.

Z. *uɓu–*, *utsh–*, *uɓ–*
S. *ɓu–*, *tsh–*, *ɓ–*
N. *ɓu–*

S. *ɓudze* length,
ɓuhle beauty,
ɓukhosi kingship,
ɓoya hair,
tshani grass,
tshwala beer,

N. *ɓude* length
ɓuhle beauty
ɓukxosi kingship
ɓuɓoya hair, plural *maɓoya*
ɓuyani grass
ɓuyalwa beer.

Class 15

This is the infinitive class.

Z. *uku–*, *ukw–*, *uk–*
S. *ku–*, *kw–*, *k–*
N. *ku–*

S. *kudla* to eat,
kuta, *kweta* to come,
kwakha to build,
kwati to know,
kuvuta to leak,
kopha to bleed.

N. *kudla* to eat
kuta to come
kuakha to build
kuati to know
kuvunta to leak

Classes 16, 17 *and* 18

These are remnants of the locative classes and the nouns are used as adverbs and prepositions.

Class 16: Z. *pha–*
S. *pha–* in *phansi* under, *phandle* outside, only
N. *pha–* in *phasi* under, *phandle* outside, only.

Class 17 : Z. *ku–*
S. *ku–*
N. *ku–*.

Class 18: Z. not found
S. *m–* probably in *mshiya loyi* this side
N. *mu–* probably in *muʃi* side.

THE CONCORDS

		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
1st pers. sing. :	Z.	*ngi–*	*ngi–*				*engi–*
	S.	*ngi–*	*ngi–*				*lengi–*
	N.	*ndi–, n–, m–*	*ndi–, n–, m–*				
1st pers. plur. :	Z.	*si–*	*si–*				*esi–*
	S.	*si–*	*si–*				*lesi–*
	N.	*si–*	*si–*				
2 nd pers. sing. :	Z.	*u–*	*ku–*				*o–*
	S.	*u–*	*ku–*				*lo–*
	N.	*u–*	*ku–*				
2nd pers. plur. :	Z.	*ni–*	*ni–*				*eni–*
	S.	*ni–*	*ni–*				*leni*
	N.	*li–*	*li–*				
Class 1 :	Z.	*u–, a–, e–*	*mu–, m–*	*wa–*	*mu–, m–*	*omu–*	*o–*
	S.	*u–, a–*	*mu–, m–*	*wa–*	*mu–, m–*	*lomu–*	*lo–*
	N.	*u–, a–*	*mu–*	*wa–*		*(w)omu–*	
Class 2 :	Z.	*ɓa–*	*ɓa–*	*ɓa–*	*ɓa–*	*aɓa–*	*aɓa–*
	S.	*ɓa–*	*ɓa–*	*ɓa–*	*ɓa–*	*laɓa–*	*laɓa–*
	N.	*ɓa–*	*ɓa–*	*ɓa–*		*(ɓ)aba–*	
Class 3 :	Z.	*u–*	*wu–*	*wa–*	*mu–, m–*	*omu–*	*o–*
	S.	*u–*	*u–*	*wa–*	*mu–, m–*	*lomu–*	*lo–*
	N.	*u–*	*u–*	*wa–*		*(w)omu–*	
Class 4 :	Z.	*i–*	*yi–*	*ya–*	*mi–*	*emi–*	*e–*
	S.	*i–*	*i–*	*ya–*	*mi–*	*lemi–*	*le–*
	N.	*i–*	*i–*	*ya–*		*(y)emi–*	
Class 5 :	Z.	*li–*	*li–*	*la–*	*li–*	*eli–*	*eli–*
	S.	*li–*	*li–*	*la–*	*li–*	*leli–*	*leli–*
	N.	*li–*	*li–*	*la–*		*(l)eli–*	
Class 6 :	Z.	*a–*	*wa–*	*a–*	*ma–*	*ama–*	*a–*
	S.	*a–*	*wa–*	*a–*	*ma–*	*lama–*	*la–*
	N.	*a–*	*wa–*	*wa–*		*ama–*	
Class 7 :	Z.	*si–*	*si–*	*sa–*	*si–*	*esi–*	*esi–*
	S.	*si–*	*si–*	*sa–*	*si–*	*lesi–*	*lesi–*
	N.	*si–*	*si–*	*sa–*		*(s)esi–*	
Class 8 :	Z.	*zi–*	*zi–*	*za–*	*zi–*	*ezi–*	*ezi–*
	S.	*ti–*	*ti–*	*ta–*	*ti–*	*leti–*	*leti–*
	N.	*ti–*	*ti–*	*ta–*		*(t)eti–*	
Class 9 :	Z.	*i–*	*yi–*	*ya–*	*in–*	*en–*	*e–*
	S.	*i–*	*i–*	*ya–*	*in–*	*len–*	*le–*
	N.	*i–*	*i–*	*ya–*		*e–*	
Class 10 :	Z.	*zi–*	*zi–*	*za–*	*zin–*	*ezin–*	*ezi–*
	S.	*ti–*	*ti–*	*ta–*	*tin–*	*letin–*	*leti–*
	N.	*ti–*	*ti–*	*ta–*		*(t)eti–*	
Class 11 :	Z.	*lu–*	*lu–*	*lwa–*	*lu–*	*olu–*	*olu–*
	S.	*lu–*	*lu–*	*lwa–*	*lu–*	*lolu–*	*lolu–*

Class 14 :	Z.	*ɓu–*	*ɓu–*	*ɓa–*	*ɓu–*	*oɓu–*	*oɓu–*
	S.	*ɓu–*	*ɓu–*	*ɓa–*	*ɓu–*	*loɓu–*	*loɓu–*
	N.	*ɓu–*	*ɓu–*	*ɓa–*		*(ɓ)oɓu–*	
Class 15 :	Z.	*ku–*	*ku–*	*kwa–*	*ku–*	*oku–*	*oku–*
& class 17 :	S.	*ku–*	*ku–*	*kwa–*	*ku–*	*loku–*	*loku–*
	N.	*ku–*	*ku–*	*k(w)a–*		*(k)oku–*	

(a) *The Subjectival Concord*

The employment of this concord is as in Zulu. The 1st person singular in N. is *ndi–* in old speech, and in modern speech before vowels : *ndiati* (I know). Before labials this concord may appear as *m–* ; before inter-dentals as inter-dental *n̪* ; before alveolars as alveolar *n* : before cerebrals as cerebral *n* : before velars as velar *n* (*ŋ*), etc. : *nthwala* (I carry), *n̪taɓona* (I shall see) : *aŋkaɓoni* (I have not seen), *amɓoni* (I do not see).

Class 1 : the concord *u–* is used for the indicative mood only in all the three languages. For all other moods S. and N. employ *a–*, even where Zulu has *e–* for the participial mood.

(b) *The Objectival Concord*

1st person singular : in S. this concord is usually heard as *ŋ–* ; in N. the same as for the subjectival concord applies. S. *uyaŋɓona* (he sees me).

(c) *The Possessive Concord*

For the 1st and 2nd persons singular the possessive concords of class 1 are used, for the 1st and 2nd persons plural that of class 2.

Both S. and N. follow the rules of "substitution of *e*" when the possessive concord is prefixed to a following noun :

S. *tshwala ɓemadvodza* the beer of the men ; cf. Z. *utshwala ɓamadoda*
kudla kwemfati the food of the woman ; cf. Z. *ukudla komfazi*

N. *ɓuyalwa ɓemadoda* the beer of the men
tidlo temufati the food of the woman.

(d) "*Copulative*" *Adjectival Concord* [1]

Nreɓele has no special form for this type of concord. The concords tabulated under (e) are used. I have come across the form *nkxomo innye* for "the beast is one" as well as for "one beast", the more common form being *nkxomo enye.*

Z. and S. *umfana mubi* (the boy is bad)

S. *emanti manyenti* (the water is much).

(e) "*Relative*" *Adjectival Concord*

The S. forms are probably contracted from the demonstrative and the "copulative" adjectival concord (cf. Tsonga *munhu lo nkulu* : < *lo*(*yi*) demonstrative, **mu–kulu* ; *vanhu la'va kulu* for the fuller form

[1] I am aware that Prof. Doke does not regard these formatives as concords. I believe that all concords may be copulative in purport ; nevertheless special copulative forms are not excluded. (Cf. nouns : S. *umfati* has *umfati, mfati* and *ŋumfati* as copulatives, as well as *uŋumfati* ; N. has no special form : *mufati* which may be copulative "it is a woman".)

Prof. Doke's adjectival and relative concords, as in *omuhle* and *oɓomvu* respectively, are as much copulative as his "copulative" forms *muhle* and *uɓomvu*, as is indicated by the translation "he who is beautiful" and "he who is red". To translate with "a beautiful one" and "a red one" is but another European approach ; cf. also *umuntu ogijimayo* "a person who runs" or "a running person".

vanhu lava vakulu; Sotho *motho yo moxolo*). A form like *inja leinkulu* is still often heard in S. for *inja lenkulu* a dog which is big ; a big dog).

The N. forms have alternatives : the initial consonant or semi-vowel may be discarded :

ɓanrwatanyana ɓaɓanyeti or *aɓanyeti* girls which are many, many girls ; the girls are many.
tikxomo tetikxulu or *etikxulu* the oxen which are big, the big oxen ; the oxen are big.
mutlhangana wumunye or *omunye* another boy.

The vowel of the first syllable of this concord when preceded by a consonant or semi-vowel is heard as *u–* when the following one is *u* (thus class 1 and 3 : *wumu–* ; 14 : *ɓuɓu–* ; 15 : *kuku–*) ; as *i* when the next vowel is *i* (thus class 4 : *yimi–* ; 5 : *lili–* ; 8 : *sisi–* ; 9 : *titi–*) :

munru wuwumbi or *omumbi* a bad person ; a person is bad.
tinro titiŋatanyana or *tetiŋatanyana* or *etiŋatanyana* small things ; the things are small.

A construction in which the demonstrative is being used is also found to express the English attributive use of the adjective : *mufati lo wumuhle* the woman who is beautiful, a beautiful woman ; cf. also the form *mbaba–* with copulative **ni–* in

ɓatlhangana laɓa mbaɓakxulu the boys that are big, the big boys.

(f) *The Relative Concord*

These concords are used with any stem or any word to describe a noun or pronoun. The Swazi forms are probably some contraction of the demonstrative and subjectival concord of the participial mood, cf. S. *inkomo leidvosako* for *ledvosako* (an ox which is pulling). The so-called "relative suffix *–ko*" which is really a participial suffix (Z. *–yo*) is usually suffixed to the verb.

lukhuni lolußaswako a piece of fire-wood with which fire is made :
umfana lolivila a boy who is a sluggard.

In N. no such concord is found. Here the participial mood is preceded by the demonstrative as in Sotho. No participial suffix seems to be employed :

ɓanru laɓa ɓakhamba men who walk
ɓuyalwa loßu ɓuselwa the beer which is being drunk
lihloka leli ligaula the axe which chops
munru lo akhamba (*lwakhamba, lakhamba*) the person who walks
mulomo lo uɓuhlungu a painful mouth
nnyonyane le igesihlahleni (Z. *inyoni engasesihlahleni*) the bird which is about the tree.

(g) *The Enumerative Concord*

The enumerative stems *–onke* and *–dvwa* are employed in S. as they are in Z.

ɓonke aɓantu all people
kuneɓantfwana ɓodvwa la here are only children.

In N. the enumerative stems are *–okxe* and *–nedwa*. The first one is employed as in Z. : *tikxomo tokxe* all the cattle.

–nedwa seems to be employed with the concord of the participial mood : *munru anedwa* a person (being) alone.

(h) *The Reflexive Concord*

Although not a concord in the same sense as the other concords the reflexive formative stands in the position of an objectival concord. In S. it is *ti–*, in N. *ti–* (inter-dental *t̪*) :

S. *ngiyatiɓona* I see myself
N. *ndiatiɓona* I see myself.

THE PRONOUNS

		(a)	(b)			(c)
1st pers. sing :	Z.	*mina*				*–mi*
	S.	*mine*				*–mi*
	N.	*mna*				*–m*
1st pers. plur. :	Z.	*thina*				*–ithu*
	S.	*tsine*				*–itfu*
	N.	*thina*				
2nd pers. sing. :	Z.	*wena*				*–kho*
	S.	*wena*				*–kho*
	N.	*wena*				*–kho*
2nd pers. sing. :	Z.	*nina*				*–inu*
	S.	*nine*				*–inu*
	N.	*lina*				*–inu*
Class 1 :	Z.	*yena*	*lo*	*lowo*	*lowaya*	*–khe*
	S.	*yena*	*lo(yi)*	*loyo*	*loya*	*–khe*
	N.	*yena*	*lo*	*lowo*	*lowa*	*–khe*
Class 2 :	Z.	*ɓona*	*laɓa*	*laɓo*	*laɓaya*	*–ɓo*
	S.	*ɓona*	*laɓa*	*laɓo*	*laɓa*	*–ɓo*
	N.	*ɓona*	*laɓa*	*laɓo*	*laɓa*	*–ɓo*
Class 3 :	Z.	*wona*	*lo*	*lowo*	*lowaya*	*–wo*
	S.	*wona*	*lo(yi)*	*lowo*	*lowa*	*–wo*
	N.	*wona*	*lo*	*lowo*	*lowa*	*–wo*
Class 4 :	Z.	*yona*	*le*	*leyo*	*leyiya*	*–yo*
	S.	*yona*	*le(yi)*	*leyo*	*leya*	*–yo*
	N.	*yona*	*le*	*leyo*	*leya*	*–yo*
Class 5 :	Z.	*lona*	*leli*	*lelo*	*leliya*	*–lo*
	S.	*lona*	*leli*	*lelo*	*lela*	*–lo*
	N.	*lona*	*leli*	*lelo*	*lela*	*–lo*
Class 6 :	Z.	*ona*	*la*	*lawo*	*lawaya*	*–wo*
	S.	*ona*	*la(wa)*	*lawo*	*lawa*	*–wo*
	N.	*ona*	*la*	*lawo*	*lawa*	*–wo*
Class 7 :	Z.	*sona*	*lesi*	*leso*	*lesiya*	*–so*
	S.	*sona*	*lesi*	*leso*	*lesa*	*–so*
	N.	*sona*	*lesi*	*leso*	*lesa*	*–so*
Class 8 :	Z.	*zona*	*lezi*	*lezo*	*leziya*	*–zo*
	S.	*tona*	*leti*	*leto*	*leta*	*–to*
	N.	*tona*	*leti*	*leto*	*leta*	*–to*
Class 9 :	Z.	*yona*	*le*	*leyo*	*leyiya*	*–yo*
	S.	*yona*	*le(yi)*	*leyo*	*leya*	*–yo*
	N.	*yona*	*le*	*leyo*	*leya*	*–yo*

Class 10 :	Z.	*zona*	*lezi*	*lezo*	*leziya*	*–zo*
	S.	*tona*	*leti*	*leto*	*leta*	*–ta*
	N.	*tona*	*leti*	*leto*	*leta*	*–ta*
Class 11 :	Z.	*lona*	*lolu*	*lolo*	*loluya*	*–lo*
	S.	*lona*	*lolu*	*lolo*	*lolwa*	*–lo*
Class 12 :	Z.	*ɓona*	*loɓu*	*loɓo*	*loɓuya*	*–ɓo*
	S.	*ɓona*	*loɓu*	*loɓo*	*loɓa*	*–ɓo*
	N.	*ɓona*	*loɓu*	*loɓo*	*loɓa*	*–ɓo*
Class 15	Z.	*khona*	*lokhu*	*lokho*	*lokhuya*	*–kho*
and 17 :	S.	*kona* (15) *khona* (17)	*loku*	*loko*	*lokwa*	*–ko*
	N.	*khona*	*lokhu*	*lokho*	*lokhwa*	*–kho*
Class 16 :	Z., S., N. :		*lapha*	*lapho*	*lapha*	(Z. *laphaya*)

(a) *The Absolute Pronoun*

A feature of these pronouns is the suffix *–na* which is usually omitted when another formative is prefixed to the stem :

S. and N. *naye* for *nayena* with him

S. *ngimi*, N. *gum* it is I.

(b) *The Demonstrative Pronoun*

This pronoun is employed as in Zulu, either standing by itself or in apposition to the noun.

S. *indvodza le*, *le ndvodza* this man

N. *ndoda le*, *le ndoda* this man.

In S. the demonstrative is employed in a shortened form with adjectival and relative concords :

litshe lelelikhulu (< *leli lelikhulu*) a big stone

kudla lolokuphekako (< *loku lokuphekako*) the food which is cooking.

In N. the demonstrative is employed in the formation of the relative construction :

ɓafati laɓa ɓapheka the women who are cooking.

The second (indicating "there") and the third (indicating "yonder") are also employed as in Zulu.

(c) *The Possessive Pronoun Stems*

These are stems which must be preceded by the possessive concord as in Zulu :

S. *inkomo yami* my beast

N. *nkxaɓi yam* my ox.

TRANSITION RITES OF THE KUANYAMA AMBO

(A Preliminary Study)

EDWIN M. LOEB

(*Editorial footnotes have been added at Dr. Loeb's request.* M. JEFFREYS. Assist. Ed.)

PART II

The Girl's Puberty Ceremony (*Efundula*).—The Kuanyama girl's puberty ceremony is a prolonged preparation for the initiates. From early childhood the girls practice the steps of the *efundula* dance; and their work stamping the grain, hoeing the fileds and helping their mothers, serves as a preparation for the endurance required in the four-day dancing ceremony, and in running about the country for one month as "ash girls". For years the girls save their hair cuttings from which they make two important head-dresses. One they make around the age of sixteen and wear for one year before the *efundula* dance. It is called *olende* (Fig. 4), and consists of hair and fibre stiffened with fat and red ochre, and held together with sinew strings to which cowry shells are sewn. At this time they return to their fathers' kraals (if they are not living there already). The other head-dress is called *omatela*, married woman's head-dress (Fig. 6, 11 and 12), and is donned immediately after the *efundula* dance when they become "ash girls". It consists of wire, fibre and human hair wound into a five-peaked hat: a central peak, and four peaks made from the turned-up ends of two long narrow brims smeared with fat and red ochre and attached on either side of the head. For years the girls continually add strands of ostrich egg-shell beads to their virgin girdles (*ondjeva*, ostrich beads) in the hope that they will be wealthy enough to have one which reaches to their knees when they appear in their coming-out, four-day, dancing ceremony.

The *efundula* used to be announced by the king at the time of the *epena*, or spring festival. It was given only every three or four years; whenever the king and his nobles had a sufficient number of daughters of marriageable age. It is now held every year in different districts, while the girls of proper age are brought to the district having the festival.

The *efundula* held by the Kuanyama has probably remained unchanged since the middle of the 19th century. The "ash girls" (Fig. 11 and 12) were mentioned by Andersson.[1] Since that time, most writers on the Kuanyama have described the ceremony in part, and each has been aware that it was partly a test for endurance, and partly a test against pregnancy. Tönjes[2] has given the most complete description, while Estermann[3] first mentioned the use of magical beer. This beer is thought to give the girls fertility and to possess a power which changes the initiates into "boys". After the *efundula*, as "ash girls" they become "men". This assumption by girls of men's *rôles* is said to give certain basic psychological satisfactions.[4] A historical and sociological cause behind these probable "drives" is the rivalry between the agricultural women and the cattle-raising men who have subjected the women into a patriarchal, polygynous society. Before marriage, a woman was beaten by her lovers; after marriage, by her husband. "Wife-beating is a national custom", an informant explains. "Otherwise, our wives become unruly." During the closing month of the girl's puberty ceremony, the "ash girls" seek out their former lovers and their future husbands, beat them, and take away such property as they wish. To resist and wound an "ash girl" is taboo; it would mean sickness and death.

The salient features of the four day *efundula* ceremony are as follows:

[1] ANDERSSON (1875), p. 304. [2] TÖNJES (1911), pp. 136–44. [3] ESTERMANN (1931), pp. 42, 43.
[4] IFLUND, B. (1947), observation of psychologist from the University of California, U.S.A.

The First Day

On the morning of the first day the girls and their attendants come to a kraal where special bush shelters (*oingobele*) have been built next to the chief wife's hut. The girls are now called *ovafuko*, which means brides. They are called this until they own their own cooking places in their husband's kraals ; but they are not *ovafuko* when they are "ash girls", but *oihanangolo*, i.e. "white things".

In the afternoon the brides are dressed for the festival (Fig. 8). Their heads are decorated with a mass of tassels (*epole*) made from the bean-like fruit of the *osihamulende* tree. Around their ankles they use rattles (*ofiti*) made from cocoons with pebbles inside. Around their hips and necks are ostrich egg-shell beads. From time to time as they dance they are rubbed with fat and red ochre by female attendants. The special insignia of the *efundula* are the dancing wands (*efungu*) on the ends of which horse tails (formerly ox tails) are fixed. According to the missionary Brinker, the wand is the emblem of manhood (the penis), the white beads symbolize virginity, while the rattles are potents of fecundity. [1]

Dancing commences in the evening to the light of camp fires. The music is furnished by hand-beaten long log drums (*ongoma*, Fig. 10) whose hide heads have pitch applied to them in order to give proper tones. At intervals a whistle is blown. Formerly it was made of wood (*epoli*), now a metal police whistle takes its place. The dance is conducted by a leader (usually a man) who beats two hoe blades with a stick to furnish the rythms, of which there are only two. There is no singing while the dance is in progress. The girls go backward and forward within a circle of visiting onlookers, holding their wands erect in their right hands, while the mothers and elderly female relatives keep in the ring blessing them and throwing grain on them, encouraging them to hold out for the four-day endurance test.

That night the brides and the female relatives sleep in the specially constructed low-bush shelters (*oingobele*).

The Second Day

The second day is called "Little Jackal", (*ombadjona*). Early in the morning, at cockcrow, a circumcised man comes to the girls' shelter with a small drum (*okangoma*). He is not a medicine-man, but simply an old circumcised man from a neighbouring tribe. He is called *omupitifi*, "a passer by". While the mothers are standing outside, singing, the old man calls each girl by name, and then drums. Each mother brings a small wooden cup of beer and hands it to the old man, who takes it, puts in some herbs and human semen.[2] Then he hands it to the girl to drink. While she is drinking, the old man, as if by accident, pushes her cup, allowing the beer to spill down her front. This is done so that the bride will be fertile and easily give birth to offspring.

Immediately after drinking the beer, the neophytes one by one crawl through the old man's legs.* As they do so, they die as girls and come to life again as "boys". From this time on they are supposed to have unusual endurance in the dance, and be able to suppress their feminine emotions.

Passing through the old man's legs is called, *epitifo*.[3] Some pregnant girls will risk going through this ordeal, even though they are pregnant, rather than take a beating from their relatives, since at this time the mothers are dancing and

[1] Brinker (1899), p. 81.

[2] Iflund, B. Current informants state that the beer is brought into contact with the circumcised penis, but deny the addition of semen. The beer assumes a sacred quality giving the girls temporary manhood. Sterility may be predicted if the initiate vomits. This could easily be understood with the proper subject, since the girls are aware of the entire proceedings.

* [A similar form of initiation is found on the Niger. Candidates for the Mmo secret society are taken to the club house. "And there the masked dancer, the *maung*, whip in hand, stands with his legs apart. The candidate for full membership is stripped and then has to crawl through the *maung's* legs. While he is so employed his bare behind is lashed by the *maung*. As soon as the candidate has crawled through, the *maung* jumps round and the candidate must crawl through his legs again, and again be whipped. This process is repeated eight times, and during the ordeal, the candidate must not once wince or cry aloud." *The Divine Umundri King*. Ph. D. Thesis. University of London, 1934. Unpublished MS. M. Jeffreys. Ast. Ed.]

[3] Iflund, B. The man is naked and allows his penis to touch the back of the girl. This act again emphasizes the sacred quality of this circumcised organ among these people.

singing about the virtues and chastity of their individual offspring.

The brides then rest until the afternoon when there is more dancing. Beer drinking, eating, and dancing continue through the night.

The Third Day

The third day (*ombadje jakula*, the Big Jackal) is considered by Tönjes to be the most important; although, from the spectators point of view, the fourth day is the most interesting. A father or brother of each girl furnishes an ox for the occasion, which is slaughtered early in the morning. It is a bitter blow for the girl if no ox can be provided, and a goat must be substituted. Unless it is the king's kraal, within which no blood may be spilt, the ox is slaughtered inside the kraal.

On the afternoon of this day the bridegrooms (*ekuendje*) come to this ceremony, where they mingle with the throng. Each of them is accompanied by a number of friends and acquaintances, some of whom have drums. On the way they often stop under shade trees; the drums are beaten, and the men sing songs about the brides—usually of a derisive nature. For instance, in one song a bride is named, and it is stated that you will become blind and die if you look at her. In another, the bridegroom is named, and it is implied that he now trots like a dog, and can no longer gallop, being too old. It is suggested that the bride might as well be dead as married to him.

When the guests arrive at the kraal, they go to the middle of a large space in front of the kraal's entrance (*oluvanda*). Each bridegroom sends his best friend (*ongoleka*) into the kraal to fetch his bride. When all of the girls have appeared, the bridegrooms and their friends form a circle around them; drumming begins and the brides again start to dance.

The Fourth Day

After dancing all night the third day, the brides are cleaned with dry porridge at the door of the first wife's hut. Then they are again smeared with fat and red ochre. The intestines of each girl's ox, slaughtered the day before, are now filled with fat, bound into a collarette, and hung around her neck. This decoration (*oilenga*) serves as a sign that a beast has been slaughtered for her. The larger the animal, the larger the intestines, and the thicker will be the neckband. At ten o'clock the dancing begins again, after which there is a break for refreshments.

The roll of the drums in the late afternoon calls the girls out to the entrance space of the kraal (*oluvanda*). Here, the bridegrooms assemble. After having watched their brides dance a while, each has a friend tie a strip (*oluvale*) of palm leaf across one shoulder and under the other of his bride. If a man has come to select a bride, and sees that one of the girls has no leaf, he may now select her. If a girl does not want him as her future husband, she breaks the palm leaf at once. If, however, the palm leaf remains until nightfall, the engagement may be considered final.

Next, the old man again appears, this time with a branch split into a forked shape stick (*osimangua*) and each of the girls must step over this four times at the kraal entrance. After doing so, the brides break the intestines, which have been dribbling over them during the dancing, and smear each other with the fat.

Walking over the forked stick is the crucial ceremony, and the one which finally convinces the bridegrooms of the purity of their brides. No girl will step over the stick if she is pregnant; but if she refuses to do so, her engagement is broken, and a ceremony of "small drums" is held for her to change her from girlhood to womanhood. The father of the child has to marry the girl, or pay a fine of four cattle. But this is modern. In former days the girl would have been killed, and her lover enslaved or driven from the country.[1]

Now comes the final ceremony which seals the engagement. The friends of the husbands who are acting as best men are first rubbed by the mothers of the brides with fat and red ochre. Then each one kneels down, receives the bride of his friend on his back, gallops to a designated tree, deposits the lady on the ground, lets her climb back again, and races with her home to

[1] See *Pregnancy and child Birth*, Part I, "Transition Rites of the Kuanyama Ambo" in *African Studies*, 7(1) March 1948.

the kraal.* In the meanwhile, long supple switches have been placed next to the kraal. As each best man deposits his burden, the bride picks up one of these, and attempts to lay it across the back of her bearer. If the men are not agile, they may receive a powerful slashing. Once the best men are out of reach, the feast is ended.

The Girl's Puberty Ceremony (*oihanangolo*, "white things" or "ash girls").—The day following the *efundula* ceremony the brides take off their dancing costumes, and are cleaned with dry porridge. In two, or three days at most, the married woman's head-dress (*omatela*) is ready for them. It is so fastened to the head that it cannot be removed. This is conducive to the harbouring of vermin, so the girl wears a scratching stick in her hair. As the girl's hair grows the hat gets pushed back until finally it must be cut off. When another *omatela* is made, it has a cross-piece at the back to indicate new age status (Fig. 6).

Once the hat is in place, the brides dress as "ash girls" (Fig. 11 and 12). Their bodies and costumes are smeared with white kaolin clay. Each is armed with a long walking-stick (*onondje*). They wear aloe sticks on a band tied round their necks and under their arm-pits, and small sticks or fibres partly masking their ash-covered faces, and "grass" skirts around their waists. In 1911 they wore imitation wood cartridge belts and "goatee" beards of fibre, and only the skin lapi without the skirt of fibre.

Dressed in this fashion the girls roam around the country a month avenging themselves on the men. In the olden days the girls are said to have lived a roaming life for two and a half months. To-day, if the ceremony falls in planting time, the brides often do not become "ash girls" at all. While they are in their ghost attire they are above the ordinary law :

"*Omunu mutoka kena osidila.*"

"For the white people there is no taboo." During this period the girls appear in groups, always approaching at a run amidst much noisy chattering. They are always addressed as "*Ovamatiovo*", "those boys". The leader will call out: "*He -e wa ! Ovamatiovo !*", "We are boys !" The girls then answer: "*Hu !*", "Yes, indeed !" At other times the girls make up songs in which they pretend that they are famous warriors and assume their names.

The "ash girls" are accompanied on their trips by their little sisters who are called *oufundifi*. The latter carry little baskets filled with ashes and the two rhythm sticks for the "ash girls'" songs. When necessary they powder just their faces and their older sisters' whole bodies.

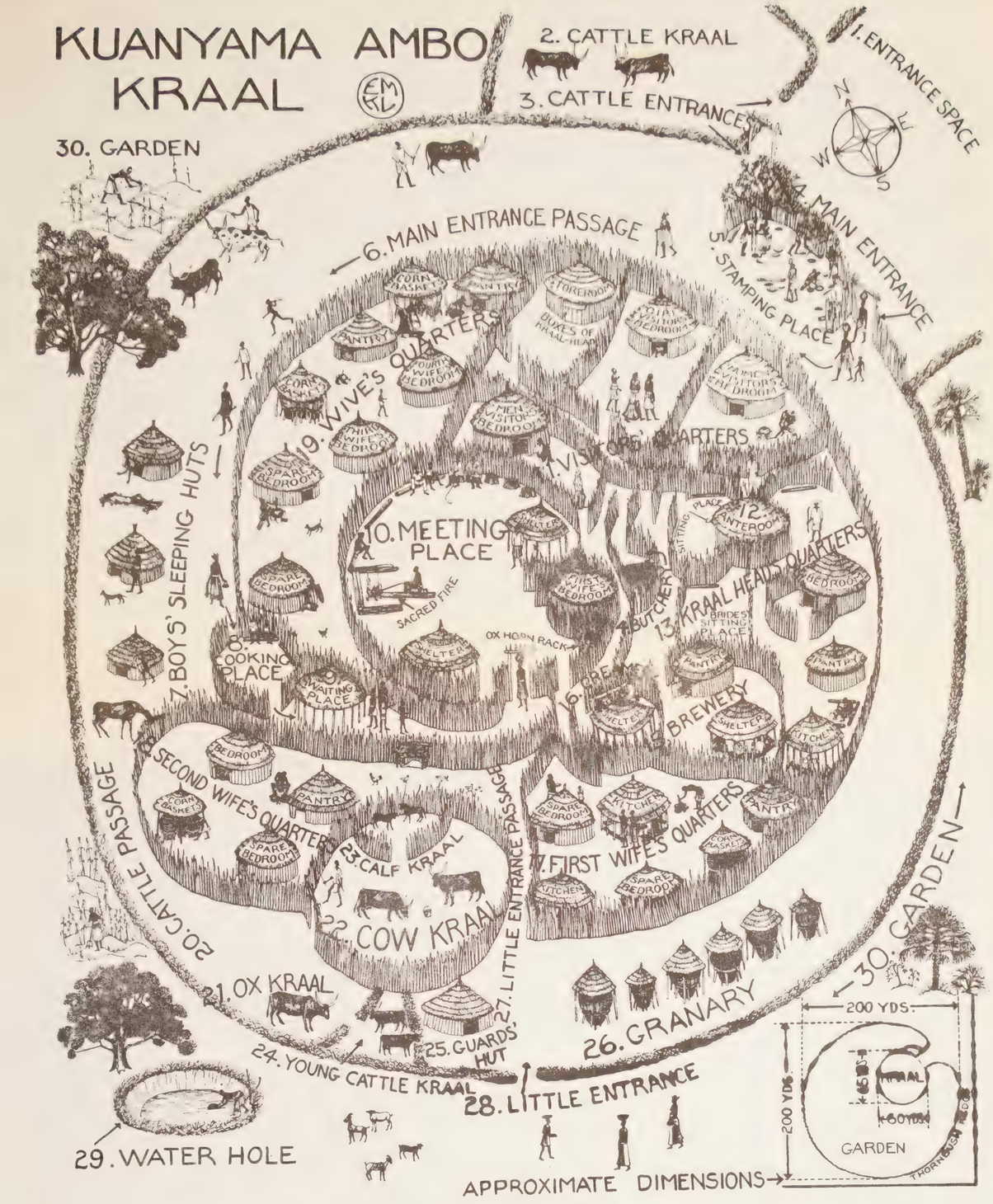
They are welcome everywhere, and can enter anyone's garden and take all the corn and beans they wish. Especially do these "warriors" try to take the kerrie sticks away from the men, for the kerrie stick represents manhood, the same as the hand basket represents womanhood. When a man sees the girls he tries to escape, for if he is easily captured by them it formerly meant that he would easily be captured in war. Once caught, he is beaten and has to give up his kerrie stick and a present besides, or else lose all his weapons. Formerly, even the king received a beating if he crossed the "ash-girls" path. They try especially to capture their former lovers and future husbands, and if these are caught in the company of other girls, they show both no mercy.

When the "ash-girls" are not sleeping in the bush, they sleep in the kraal in which the *efundula* had been held. From time to time they go with their mothers to the homes of the bridegrooms for the *eundu*, a feast of meat, beer, and porridge. The men must be absent at such visits. The kraals of former lovers are also not neglected in this respect.

Marriage.—The end of the girl's puberty ceremony is marriage for most Ambo women. After being "ash girls" for a month they return to their own kraals, where they are washed with meal by their families and attired in married women's clothing (Fig. 6). Then each husband sends his best man to the family with a present of an ox for the bride's father, and four hoes for the bride's

* [See footnote on p. 23, *African Studies*, 7(1) March 1948, in "Transition Rites of the Kuanyama Ambo", Part I, where the Ibibio bride is carried off on the shoulders of her bridegroom. M. Jeffreys. Ast. Ed.]

KUANYAMA AMBO KRAAL



CARTOGRAPH OF A TYPICAL KUANYAMA AMBO KRAAL

BASED ON THE GROUND PLAN OF A KRAAL BUILT BY NATIVES FOR THE 1935 EXHIBITION AT WINDHOEK, SOUTH WEST AFRICA, AND ALSO ON PHOTOGRAPHS AND FIELD NOTES.

Scale: 1/24 inch equals 1 foot on the ground plan. 1/16 inch equals 1 foot on the objects.

1. Entrance space, *oluvanda* (s.) *omaluvanda* (pl.).
NOTE: A children's place to play; the thornbush hedge, *ongubu jomano* (s.), *engubu domano* (pl.).

2. Cattle kraal, *osiunda* (s.), *ojunda* (pl.).

3. Cattle entrances, *embuidi dengobe* (pl.), *ombuidi jengobe* (s.).

4. Main entrance, *onu* (s.) *enu* (pl.).
NOTE: Women, *ovakulukadi* (pl.), *omukulukadi* (s.); beer pots, *oitoo jomaludu* (pl.), *ositoo somaludu* (s.); child, *okana* (s.), *ounona* (pl.).

5. Stamping place, *osini* (s.), *oini* (pl.).
NOTE: Girls, *oukadona* (pl.), *okakadona* (s.); stockade, *omiti jeumbo* (pl.), *omuti ueumbo* (s.)—(trees of the kraal); castor bean plant, *olumono* (s.), *omalumono* (pl.)—the beans are stamped for body oil; stamping sticks, *omisi* (pl.), *omusi* (s.); stamping holes, *oini* (pl.), *osini* (s.); sitting logs, *oipundi* (pl.), *osipundi* (s.); baskets, *oimbale* (pl.), *osimbale* (s.).

6. Main entrance passage, *omukala uokonu* (s.), *omikala jokonu* (pl.).
NOTE: Old man, *onuasamane* (s.), *ovasamane* (pl.), with a walking stick, *onondje* (s.), *enondje* (pl.); cattle, *ongobe* (s.), *engobe* (pl.); man, *omulumenu* (s.), *ovalumenu* (pl.); boy, *omumati* (s.), *ovamati* (pl.), with knobkerrie stick, *odimbo* (s.), *edimbo* (pl.); warrior, *omukuaita* (s.), *ovakuaita* (pl.), with bow, *outa* (s.), *omauta* (pl.), and arrow, *osikuti* (s.), *oikuti* (pl.).

7. Boys' sleeping huts, *omitala dovamati* (pl.), *omutala uomumati* (s.)—(cots of boys).
NOTE: Cot, *omutala* (s.), *omitala* (pl.); huts, *enduda* (pl.), *onduda* (s.); dog, *ombua* (s.), *embua* (pl.); horse, *onghambe* (s.), *enghambe* (pl.); horses' feeding-trough, *epeta lokulila onghambe* (s.), *omapeta okuila enghambe* (pl.); bride, *omufuko* (s.), *ovafuko* (pl.), holding a basket hand-bag, *onghinda* (s.), *enghinda* (pl.), and a skin handkerchief, *onghanda* (s.), *enghanda* (pl.).

8. Cooking place, *epata lakula* (s.), *omapata akula* (pl.)—(boys' sitting place).
NOTE: Guests must pass through *epata lakula*.

9. Waiting place, *okasila kovaenda* (s.), *ousila vovaenda* (pl.)—(little tail of the walker).

10. Meeting place, *olupale* (s.), *omalupale* (pl.)—(a big clear place).
NOTE: Sacred fire, *ediko lopolupale* (s.), *omadiko opomalupale* (pl.); ox-horn rack, *poipamba* (s.); first wife's bedroom, *ondjuuo jalombe* (s.), *endjuuo dalombe* (pl.); meeting shelters, *enduda domudimbi* (pl.), *onduda jomudimbi* (s.)—(huts of rainy days); headmen, *omalenga* (pl.), *elenga* (s.).

11. Visitors' quarters, *omihandjo jovaenda* (pl.), *omuhandjo uovaenda* (s.).—(living places of the walkers).
NOTE: Passages, *omikala* (pl.), *omukala* (s.) urinals, *oixuxuilo* (pl.), *oixuxuilo* (s.), indicated by u. throughout the kraal; men visitors' bedroom, *onduda jovalumenu vovaenda* (s.), *enduda dovalumenu vovaenda* (pl.) women visitors' bedroom, *ondjuuo jovalikadi vovaenda* (s.), *endjuuo dovalikadi vovaenda* (pl.); girl visitors' bedroom, *ondjuuo joukadona vovaenda* (s.), *endjuuo doukadona vovaenda* (pl.); store-room of boxes (belongs to kraal-head), *elimba loikefa* (s.), *omalimbaoikefa* (pl.).

12. Anteroom, *onduda jofifilua* (s.), *enduda defifilua* (pl.)— (hut of bending through).
NOTE: A receiving place before entering another part of the kraal. Sitting place, *okalupale* (s.), *oulupale* (pl.)—(a little clear place).

13. Kraal-head's quarters, *okenduda domueneumbo* (s.), *okenduda dovene vomaumbo* (pl.).
NOTE: Kraal-head's bedroom, *onduda jamueneumbo jokunangala* (s.), *enduda dovene vomaumbo dokunangala* (pl.)—(hut of the kraal-owner to lie down in); pantry, *elimba* (s.), *omalimba* (pl.); kraal-head's cooking place (including the kitchen), *osiundika* (s.), *ojundika* (pl.); cooking pot, *ombija jokuteleka* (s.), *embija dokuteleka* (pl.); cooking stick, *oluko* (s.) *omaluko* (pl.); cooking stones, *omafija* (pl.), *efija* (s.); bride's sitting place, *okalupale kovafuko* (s.), *oulupale vovafuko* (pl.).

14. Butchery, *oikomangelelo* (s.)—(place to cut up meat).
NOTE: Meat cot, *omutala uombelela* (s.), *omitala jombelela* (pl.).

15. Brewery, *omalimba omalodu* (pl.)—(pantries of beer).
NOTE: Beer-drinking place (shelter), *onele jokunuina omalodu* (s.), *enele dokunuina omalodu* (pl.).

16. Creamery, *exupa* (pl.), *oxupa* (s.)—(calabash butter-churns).

17. First wife's quarters, *epata lalombe* (s.), *omatapa alombe* (pl.).
NOTE: Kitchen, *etula kokuteleka* (s.), *omatala vokuteleka* (pl.)—(shelter to cook at); potsherd cooking stones, *omafa oikualungu* (pl.), *efia losikualungu* (s.); corn baskets, *omanda* (pl.), *okanda* (s.); spare bedroom, *ondjuuo jovaenda* (s.), *endjuuo dovaenda* (pl.)—sleeping hut for walkers.

18. Second wife's quarters, *omapata okehaka* (pl.), *epata lokehaka* (s.).
NOTE: Bedroom, *ondjuuo* (s.), *endjuuo* (pl.); chicken roost, *osikuku sexuxua* (s.), *oikuku jexuxua* (pl.); chicken, *oxuxua* (s.), *exuxua* (pl.); rooster, *sikondobolo*, (s.) *oikondobolo* (pl.).

19. Wives' quarters at the centre of the kraal, *omapata opokati keumbo* (pl.), *epata lopokati keumbo* (s.).
NOTE: Woman's fish basket, *osongo* (s.), *ojongo* (pl.); third and fourth wife's bedrooms are called *endjuuo dopokati komaumbo* (pl.), *ondjuuo jopokati keumbo* (s.).

20. Cattle passage, *omudingililo* (s.), *omidingililo* (pl.)—(a thing to go around).

21. Ox kraal, *ohambo jehove* (s.), *ehambo dehove* (pl.).
NOTE: Bull, *omedi* (s.), *emedi* (pl.).

22. Cow kraal, *osiunda sengobe sakula* (s.), *ojunda jengobe jakula* (pl.).
NOTE: Cow, *ongobe jodidi* (s.), *engobe dedidi* (pl.); wooden milk-pail, *ehole* (s.), *omahalo* (pl.).

23. Calf kraal, *osinjongo soutana* (s.), *oinjongo joutana* (pl.).
NOTE: Calf, *okatona* (s.) *outana* (pl.).

24. Young cattle kraal, *osinjongo somitanda* (s.), *oinjongo jomitanda* (pl.).
NOTE: Heifer, *odema* (s.), *endema* (pl.).

25. Guards' hut, *onduda joketambo* (s.), *enduda dokomatambo* (pl.)—(hut by the granary).

26. Granary, *etambo lomanda* (s.), *omatambo omanda* (pl.).

27. Little entrance passage, *omukala uokokanu* (s.), *omikala jokounu* (pl.).

28. Little entrance, *okanu* (s.), *ounu* (pl.).
NOTE: A private entrance and a general exit.

29. Water hole, *omufima* (s.), *omifima* (pl.).
NOTE: Stile, *osimangua* (s.), *oimangua* (pl.)—(a tied thing). water pot, *osito someva* (s.), *oito jomeva* (pl.).

30. Garden, *epia* (s.), *omapia* (pl.)—(divided into smaller gardens for each wife).
NOTE: Hillocks, *osimungu* (s.), *omungu* (pl.), corn, *oilia* (pl.), *olulia* (s.); millet, *omahangu* (pl.); hoe, *etemo* (s.), *omatemo* (pl.); ovambo rake, *olukolo* (s.), *omalukolo* (pl.). fig tree, *omukuiju* (s.), *omikuiju* (pl.), palm tree, *omulunga* (s.), *omilunga* (pl.).

mother. This represents a bride-price, and is called *ojonda*. It is in no sense a payment for children the bride may have later, since these do not pass to the control of the father; however, the marriage cannot be consummated until the bride-price has been paid. The bride receives from her father the breast of the ox when it is slaughtered; from her mother a dowry of necessary clothing, cooking utensils, baskets, and all the usual hoes (*etemo*).

After the payment of the bride-price the bride comes to her husband's kraal with an unmarried girl friend. As they near the kraal they stop from time to time, and only continue their progress upon receiving small presents from the "anxious" husband.*

The young girl remains with the bride until late in the evening, and only after receiving a sufficient reward does she consent to go to another room, thus leaving the young couple alone. No information on a delayed consummation of marriage has been obtained for the Kuanyama.[1]

On the fifth day of marriage, after the wife has spent four nights with her husband, she returns to her father's kraal with the young girl she brought with her, and also with another young girl sent by her husband. The second young girl attends to watching the bride, and sees that she remains faithful. The bride remains at her father's kraal for four days (this period is called *olusuno*), and then returns with the husband's young girl to her husband's kraal. The husband does not come to fetch her.

Estermann[2] was puzzled by this practice of alternate patrilocal and matrilocal residence of the bride, which among the Kuanyama is obligatory, having the nature of an *osidila*, or taboo. The natives explained the custom to him as follows: "To leave one's father's kraal abruptly would be acting as if the father were already dead." Actually, this alternate residence among the Kuanyama is another compromise between patrilineal in conflict with matrilineal custom. The Ondonga people are more matrilineal in this respect, and have no second marriage ceremony. A man merely leaves his wife at her father's kraal and visits her from time to time. Then, when he is over thirty, and has enough cattle of his own, he collects his wife and children, and becomes a kraal owner and a full-fledged member of the community.

Frequently, a Kuanyama man will bring his bride to his mother's brother's kraal rather than to his father's. This may be because the young man as a boy may have tended his mother's brother's goats rather than his father's goats, and have made his permanent home there. This would be even more likely if his mother and father had been divorced.

A bride remains in a "honey-moon" hut (*onduda jovafuko*) for a month or two, depending on the season of the year, and on whether or not she is needed for work in the garden. During this time she remains idle, and is very well taken care of and fed. At the end of the honey-moon the husband builds a cooking place (*epata*) for her, and she is given her place in the pantry (*elimba*) with the husband's father's other wives.

Marriage for a widow or a divorced woman is far simpler than that for a virgin. There is no exchange of presents, but a feast is held in her honour.

The Second Marriage Ceremony (*ehombolo*, marriage, or more correctly, *okupaka omafia*, to place the cooking stones).—For the second marriage ceremony three cooking stones are placed in the main sitting room (*olupale*) of the bridegroom's father's kraal. These are not real stones, since they are rare in Ovamboland; but pieces of termite hill for use in the dry season, or broken potsherds for use in the rainy season. Also, firewood from the *omufiati* and *ombo* trees

* [The Ambo may have adopted this custom from the Sotho. "Among Sotho tribes the bridal party sits down at frequent intervals, refusing to go further till pursuaded by a present." SCHAPERA, I. *The Bantu Speaking Peoples of South Africa*. 116. London, 1937. M. JEFFREYS. Ast. Ed.]

[1] The Herero delay the consummation for a night. VEDDER (1928), p. 180. Estermann states that among the Kuanyama a polygynous marriage may have its consummation delayed for a month. ESTERMANN (1934), p. 436. This may indicate the period during which the bride is an "ash girl".

[2] Estermann (1934), p. 435.

is brought—usually the day before because *omufiati* wood will not keep.

Before the second marriage ceremony, any pagan man is considered a youth, even if he is forty years old. The Kuanyama make fun of the old Ondonga men and call them *ovamati*, "youths", because there is no second marriage ceremony in Ondonga.

After the second marriage ceremony a man is called *omunjumbo* (a person with a kraal). The kraal may still need to be obtained, but the title remains because there is every expectation that *omunjumbo* will take his wife to a new kraal, make her his head wife, and then obtain the three other wives necessary for a complete Kuanyama pagan household. This is every Ambo's ambition, and the worst curse a father can place on his son is to say to him: "May you never become a kraal owner!"

On the day of the ceremony an ox is killed for a feast. The boy's clan members and the members of the father's clan stream into the *olupale* (meeting place). The youth first undresses and crawls naked between his father's legs. This indicates that he dies as a youth and comes to life again as a full-grown man and council member. Then, his father presents him with gifts of new clothing and new weapons. These consist of new skins to be worn in front and back, a new belt, a man's kerrie stick (*odimbo jomuse*) made from *omuse* wood, and a man's bow (*outa uongete*) made from thorn bush. (A youth's bow is not so strong, being made from palm tree, and is called *outa uepokolo*.) Next, the father calls his wife (the boy's mother) from her sleeping hut. She comes with a vessel of fat and red ochre, some native beads (*omamanja osikuanjama*), and a walking stick made of *omuse* wood. Then, the wife of the boy is sent for. She enters wearing a new *omatela* (married woman's head-dress) which has been presented to her; also, the entrails of the slaughtered ox hung around her neck. The youth and his wife stand together and are smeared with grease and red ochre. Then, they sit on the log stools in the *olupale*. A pot of beer is brought. First, the father of the boy drinks, and then the mother of the boy. Next, the boy himself drinks, afterwards handing a cup to his wife. After the drinking, the husband makes a new fire at the three cooking stones by drilling with two pieces of the wild fig tree. The wife then cooks porridge there, which is eaten in the same order as the beer was drunk.

After the ceremony, the wife is allowed to cook on these "stones" in the *olupale* for feasts. When the couple move into a kraal of their own, the fire is transferred from this hearth to the new kraal.

The Women's Position in Marriage.—The order of marriage and place of residence determine the status and duties of the wives of a Kuanyama kraal. Each wife, no matter where she lives in the kraal, is an independent economic unit with her own sleeping hut (*ondjuuo*): corn basket (*okanda*), shelter (*okatala*), cooking place (*epata*) and pantry (*elimba*), and here she works and raises her family. She also has her own garden (*epia*) in the kraal's field, from which she supplies her family's, and the kraal-head's needs. Three wives are the important functionaries in the kraal, but four wives round out the sacred number in the complete pagan household. The fourth wife usually resides in the third wife's quarters, and any wives over four are placed where the kraal-head chooses. Thus, a wife placed in the second wife's quarters (*omapata okehaka*) will assist with cooking for the kraal-head and his servants. However, the wives take turns cooking and making beer for the entire kraal, and on the whole are very democratic in their apportionment of work. Yet, the kraal-head is not so democratic in his apportionment of affection, and "favorite" wives are always to be found in a large Kuanyama headman's kraal.

The first wife is responsible for the welfare of her husband's guests, and the upkeep of the sacred fire (*edīko lopulopale*). She has her sleeping hut (*ondjuuo jalombe*) opposite this fire, and either in the main sitting place (*olupale*) or just outside in the creamery (*exupa*). She supervises the daily domestic work, and issues the important foods, and is in charge of corn stamping, cooking, butter making, and beer making.

The second wife is often the one who cooks

for the kraal-head. She assists the first wife in her domestic duties and is in charge of the daily issue of the *omahangu* corn for the main food dish, the porridge of the Ambos.

The third wife is in charge of the issue of beans and less important foods. The fourth wife assists her. The advantage of more wives is in the planting and cultivation of more crops.[1]

The Medicine-Man's Initiation.—The medicine-man (or woman) among the Kuanyama is called *ondudu*. He has five duties to perform : to cure, to sacrifice for the sick, to detect witches, to detect thieves, and to find lost articles. While there is no organized society of medicine-men, they belong to a profession with a definite initiation, and a grading according to the degree of initiation they have gone through. As a member of a profession they were exempt from military duties in former days ; although, they keep cattle and their wives engage in agriculture as do the wives of other people. Blacksmiths also are a professional class, with a definite initiation, and they likewise were exempt from military duties. They are not an endogamous caste among the Kuanyama, and are respected, not shunned.

Before mentioning the initiation of the medicine-men, the position of the male and female Kuanyama homosexual should be understood, since it is a male homosexual (*esenge*) who initiates the medicine-man. The *esenge* is classed as a woman by the Kuanyama, and like a woman, or a medicine-man, carries a basket, the symbol of feminity, and not the knob-kerrie stick. Since he has his definite place in society through the initiation of the medicine-man, he is not despised or ever put to death as a witch (*omulodi*) ; nevertheless he suffers reproach and ridicule. He wears woman's clothing, mates with boys and men, and does not fight in wars ; when he dies his body must be buried out of the country. The presence of *omasenge* amidst the population creates a constant tension, since no man wishes to be classified as such, whether as an active or a passive homosexual. There are two recourses by which the *esenge* hopes to gain public approval : first, by public appearances in which several sing and play on their "calabash drums" (*omakola*) ; and, secondly, the *esenge* may become a medicine-man. Most of the *omasenge* are medicine-men, but by no means are all the medicine-men, *omasenge*.

Less is known about the female homosexual (*osingelume*). The *omasenge* are addressed as *meme*, "mother" ; while the female homosexuals are addressed as *tate*, "father", wear men's clothing, and shoot with the bow if attacked. In the olden days it is said that they founded kraals and had many wives. At present, if they are found in kraals among the other wives, they are thrown out. The female homosexual also likes to become a 'medicine-man' for her own protection, and is initiated by a male homosexual.

One of the songs of the *esenge* shows that his attitude is one of self-defence :

Ousenge hauina;
Male homosexuality not deliberate ;
Oumbaba osima sa Kalunga.
Cowardice thing from Kalunga.
Nambuda jonjanja meme ulimomepunda,
At the back of cruely mother pregnant.
Nani esenge tadala namuongo.
And homosexual to bear children at the back-
Taulele oingelume. [bone.
To look after a child half man, half woman.

A free translation :

Homosexuality is not deliberate. Cowardice comes from the High God (Kalunga). You are pregnant, but you will not bear a real man or a real woman. On your back you will carry a half man, half woman.

Estermann[2] has published some notes on the initiation of the medicine-man. The patient before initiation is always subject to a long sickness, since he (or she) is possessed with the spirit of a dead *ondudu*, either from his mother's or his father's side. This possession may arise from touching a dead medicine-man's basket, or by merely dreaming. A master medicine-man diagnoses the case, and tells the patient he must become an *ondudu* himself.

[1] Guide (1935).

[2] Estermann (1934) p. 439.

The initiation lasts four days, and the days bear the same names as in the *efundula*. There are four classes of medicine-men, depending on whether the initiate sucks up the still-warm blood from the slit throat of a chicken, goat, dog, or bull. The second class medicine-men must also be diviners. They must find some hidden object, such as a peanut, which has been buried in the sand.

Besides the drinking of blood, another important ceremonial act is the death and resurrection of the candidate during his initiation dance. Before this takes place, the boy (or girl) who has been told that he must become an *ondudu* goes to his kraal and stays there until he dreams about his dead *ondudu* ancestor. Then he goes to a homosexual instructor to get herbs, his basket, and a rather lengthy period of instruction. When sufficiently skilled, he goes through a four day and night dancing ceremony, to which friends and relatives have been invited. The instructing *esenge* plays on his "calabash drum", sings his songs, and the novice dances. This instrument consists of a notched stick, with calabashes as resonators. The notched stick is rubbed with another stick to produce a rasping noise. On the last night of the ceremony the initiate falls down in the midst of his dancing, and appears lifeless for about an hour. He revives when given herbs by his instructor.

The next day the pupil gets his charms (*osiketi*). These consist of a small cattle horn and sticks. The horn is called *osiva*, and is filled with medicines to be used on sick people. The sticks also are used in curing. The novice now makes his final payment to his instructor, consisting of four goats, or eight baskets of Kaffir corn, and obtains his full medicine regalia, including white beads, cross belts over the shoulders and armlets of skins.

Certain taboos go with the receiving of the charms. These are mostly food taboos and vary with different medicine-men. For example, one cannot eat the hearts and heads of animals, such as goats. If these taboos are broken, a medicine-man loses his powers.

The Blacksmith's Initiation (*omuhambuidi*, blacksmith).—The Kuanyama are as famous in South West Africa for their work in iron, as the people of Ondonga are for their work in copper. Tönjes [1] has described the instruments of the blacksmiths, and Estermann [2] has presented a most interesting picture of the manner in which the members of the profession make their annual trip, accompanied by their wives and children, to the land of the iron ore, Osimanga, in Angola. They make this trip in the dry season, formerly just after the spring festival, *epena*; and migrate back in early summer, at the first signs of rain in Angola. The wives assist by hoeing off the upper layer of soil. The men dig up the ore and then smelt it into blocks to bring home. Only a limited amount of smithing is done in the north, such as the making of hoe blades. Arrow and spear points, knives, and other instruments are made later at home in the kraals.

There is no special clan (*epata*) from which a blacksmith must come; the profession usually is inherited, and a boy acts as apprentice to his father or mother's brother. When it is time for the youth to be a full-fledged smith, he obtains the necessary magic by two methods. First, he cuts the back of his right wrist, and the instructor does the same. The two then allow their blood to mingle. The second ritual is one in which the candidate drinks "boiling water", so that he may acquire the strength needed in his craft. The instructor gives the apprentice some water in which hot iron has been dropped. The youth drinks the water while it is still bubbling. The liquid is called *omeva ekoleko* (water to make you strong). The apprentice must learn not merely the techniques of his profession, but many magical songs as well; then, he may carry back his load of iron easily, the iron ore will yield to smelting, the iron to moulding, and finally, the spirits of the woods will welcome him when he camps among them.

Rites of Distinction.—When a man killed a lion or his first enemy a jumping dance (*omunghelo*) was held, and everyone sang the hero's praise. Killing a lion, however, was deemed more important than killing an enemy.

[1] Tönjes (1911), p. 66. [2] Estermann (1936), pp. 109–15.

Lion killing was very dangerous in the olden days (the native dare not venture on the feat now, even with modern guns), and was done with the bow and poisoned arrows, and the aid of helpers who drove the animal into range of the concealed natives.

The killer would bring the head and skin to the king. Then the monarch would order an ox to be slaughtered and given to the hero and his helpers. The drums would be sounded, and people from all over trooped in, firing their guns as they came. Finally, there would be the praising dance. The king would place the head of the lion over the heads of the children, so that when they grew up they would not be afraid of lions. The lion killer was given a "Big Name", which he kept in addition to his own, and he also was allowed to wear red and white beads as a token of distinction.

When a man returned home after killing his first enemy a jumping dance also would be held. The killer, however, was not allowed immediately to enter the interior of the kraal and sleep with his wife. He first had to hang up his leather armour belt (*ondolo*), his bow, or his quiver of arrows in the bushes outside of the kraal. Every morning while this object was still there he got up early to shout at the weapon the hyena call (*outoni*): "Hu! Hu!" Then, after four days, he was purified by the medicine-man. Either he was rubbed with water and herbs, or he had to pass through smoke made by placing herbs on hot potsherds. After this he was allowed to sleep with his wife, because now the kraal was considered safe from the ghost of the dead enemy.

Death and Burial.—The death of an ordinary man created a different reaction among the people than did the death of a king; and among ordinary people there likewise is a gradation of burial and mourning. Unwanted children, criminals, drowned people, those struck by lightning, and those who had starved to death, simply had their bodies thrown into the bush. These people could not then survive after death. But if criminals were of a noble class, they might be strangled and then buried, thus being given a chance in the next world. The highest honour accorded to a chief councillor and certain wives of a dead monarch was to bury them alive near their king, since they would then go to the next world with their spirit intact. Even to-day, the rare cases of suicides chose hanging as the main method of escape.

A kraal owner is buried in the main cattle kraal (*osiunda sengobe sakula*, cow kraal); the wives are buried next to their bedrooms (*ondjuuo*); and the children are buried in the thorn bush surrounding the kraal. Only grown men (kraal owners) are buried in ox skins, while the king was buried in a black ox skin. Each kraal owner after his death has a corn pounder (*omisi*) from which the head has been removed placed in his right hand. This marks the location of his grave. Following the spring festival (*epena*) after his death, the kraal itself is moved, so that the grave now is situated in the garden, and becomes a place of sacrifice.

The wives of a deceased kraal-head must go through a purification ceremony. In fact, either mate of anyone who has gone through the second marriage ceremony must be purified after the death of his or her spouse. Not to do this would be taboo (*osidila*), and death would be the consequence. Also, the person marrying the unclean (that is, ghost-ridden) widow (*omufijekadi*) or widower (*omufiluakadi*) would be the sufferer. Therefore, the survivor or survivors go to a doctor (*ondudu*) and are given herbs. This is followed by a symbolic sexual act whereby the sexual organ of the opposite sex is imitated from clay.[1] This ceremony appears to be a survival of the more complete sex ritual of the agricultural Okavango peoples. There, the widow must have actual sexual intercourse with a brother of her former spouse; and, a widower with a sister of his former wife—before final purity is achieved.[2]

While death is the final transition rite, it is only kraal owners and kings who become important ancestors (*ovakuamuñgu*) after their deaths; they alone are able to continue aid for their families or their country. Ordinary people are soon forgotten after the funeral, unless their spirits haunt the living, or speak through the mouths of the medicine-man.

[1] Estermann (1931), p. 44.

[2] Reports (1932), p. 63.

As in the case of all transition rites, there must be an interval of separation; this time, of the dead from the living. If a body is to be buried in the cattle or calf kraal, it is brought out in a straight line, and the palisade walls are broken down for the purpose. This is done so that the ghost will not find his way back through the kraal maze. After the death of the kraal-owner, the kraal is *osiumbo*, contaminated; the sacred fire is allowed to die out; and the kraal is deserted. A new kraal owner will bring his own fire with him. In the case of the death of a king, every fire in the land was extinguished, and had to be renewed from a new fire lit by the new king.* But the royal kraal itself was deserted for a year.

Mourning for a king (*ongodji*) would last for six weeks, during which period no one would be allowed to enter or leave the country. All work would come to a standstill, and if anyone died during this period his body would be thrown into the bush. The entire land belonged to the dead monarch. The king's grave would become a sanctuary, just as his person or his beer jars were during his lifetime; anyone escaping pursuers would be safe at the grave, even from the living king himself.

Wailing (*oñali*) lasts two days for youths, one day for children, and four days for adults. It is interrupted only during the actual burial of the body. Relatives and friends come from far bringing food and beer, and join in the ululations. Praise for the dead is sung over the grave, and the mournful sound of "*O tate!*" (Oh father!), or "*O meme!*" (Oh Mother!) is heard from mid-day to late at night. Real tears stream down the faces of the lamenters.

When a king died the news was kept secret for four days. Then kudu horns were blown to anounce his death. The people would start crying for him, singing:

"*Tatekulu O, Tatekulu O, Ohamba jange!*"
"Oh Uncle, Oh Uncle, King my !"

But when a new king came into office, one of his nobles would stand up and say:

"*Oje Hamba jeni paife, oje*
"He is King yours now, he is
Hokulu jeni, naxo jeni."
Mother's brother your, your father your."
or Big Man]

The old men would beat the ground with their kerrie sticks and clap their hands, saying:

"*O Tatekulu, O Tatekulu!*"
"Oh Uncle, Oh Uncle!"

CONCLUSION

The Function of Transition Rites.—The purpose of transition rites is to emphasize and commemorate the passage of the individual from one age status to another, or from the status of laity to the status of a member of a sacred profession; moreover, the manner of conducting such transition rites confirms the individual in the nature of his or her sex. The rites make the male more masculine, the female more feminine; that is, the male is tested for bravery, the female for endurance. The peculiarity of the Kuanyama *efundula* lies in the fact that the girls change over to males for the time being, so that eventually their female qualities will be the more accentuated. It is only the homosexual and the albino (*ekisi*, spirit) who find no place in the transition rites and tribal life. Yet, the homosexual can force his way in by undergoing the transition rites of the medicine-man. The albino, if not killed at birth, is usually disposed of later as a witch. The functional value of transitional rites therefore, on the whole, is the reinforcement of the sanctions of the society, and the psychological emphasis on the sex of the neophyte.

* [This putting out of the sacred fire in the case of the king is found among the Tika of the French Cameroons. There, when the Fumban king dies the palace fires are put out and are relit from fire brought from the sacred hearth at Bamkin. Unpublished MS. M. Jeffreys. Ast. Ed.]

Transition Rites, an Archaic Survival.—The survival among the Ambo of ancient traits connected with the rites of transition indicates that these rites most probably belong to an archaic hunting culture. As Hambly [1] treated the Ovimbundu, so the Kuanyama Ambo culture can be divided into three superimposed strata : *the fishing and hunting culture: the Negro hoe culture:* and *the Hamitic cattle-raising culture.* The historically "old" traits connected with transition rites include : the use of the bull-roarer as an esoteric musical instrument taboo to women ; the tribal marks ; the use of white ashes on girls and boys at the time of initiation in order to represent ghosts ; the death and resurrection ceremonies in the boys' and girls' initiations ; the second marriage of youths ; and, the medicine-men's initiation.

This lower stratum also contains elements of a hunting and fishing culture. Some hunting and fishing techniques were taken over from the Bushmen, among them fish poisoning, fish traps in connection with fish dams, arrow poisoning, the harpoon, the communal hunt, and certain methods of trapping.

The Dual Hoe Culture and Cattle-Raising Complex. In 1926 Herskovits [2] wrote : "The culture of East Africa gives the impression of having an agricultural foundation, on which the cattle complex seems to have been superimposed."

Among the Ambo there is a hoe culture complex which is a matrilineal clan culture with matrilocal residence and the avunculate (the importance of the mother's brother). Historically, it could be placed in a second stratum of culture, a *Negro hoe agriculture.* Power lies in the hands of petty chiefs. Clan feuds are unrestrained, excepting through the acceptance of were-geld.[3] The gods are chthonic (under the earth) and ancestral in nature. Sickness is attributed entirely to witchcraft, and rainmaking ceremonies are elaborate, and in the hands of the priests. Sexual licence is allowed and even encouraged for the assumed purpose of aiding the growth of plants. Art flourishes in the form of fetishistic idols. Intoxicants [4] are made from grains and fruits, and drunkeness is encouraged on seasonal occasions.

This stratum is best illustrated near Ovamboland by the peoples of the Okavango. The Ondonga have many more traces of it than the Kuanyama. It is a stratum which stresses the importance and independence of the kraal, and it places great power in the hands of the primitive agriculturists, the women. Each element of the hoe culture complex is economic in purpose, so therefore, the function of the whole may be said to be economic.

The final Hamitic stratum belongs to the puritanical, war-like, energetic cattle-raising males. The symbols of their power are : a High God (Kalunga), the worship of astral spirits and a sacred fire, and a divine king who is the representative of the High God and a keeper of the sacred fire. The king is responsible for national prosperity, and therefore when he becomes enfeebled or sick, he is compelled to pass from this world to the next, where his powers will be enhanced and not diminished. Blood feuds are rendered milder by lessening the powers of the clans, and by establishing royal sanctuaries. As the power of the king and his nobles increased, the rainmaking priests are said to have been driven out of most of the Ambo tribes ; while annual tribute-feasts and a cattle feast were made political prerogatives of the monarch. With the Hamitic invasion, patrilineal clans were superimposed on matrilineal clans, with the royal clan being supreme over the others, and residence after marriage became, on the whole, patrilocal.

Perhaps the outstanding sociological result of the addition of cattle--raising to the hoe culture economy has been the subjection of the women. With the introduction of cattle-raising and patrilineal clans came also the *lobolo,* or quasi marriage-price, and the ownership of many wives became

[1] Hambly (1934), p. 331.
[2] Herskovits (1926), p. 651.
[3] The Divine King probably arose in ancient Egypt among agriculturists as a man-god responsible for the growth of vegetation. But, it appears probable that he was carried south into Africa by cattle-raising Hamites.
[4] The purely cattle-raising Herero originally had no intoxicating drinks. Schinz (1891), p. 161. Nor apparently did the pastoral Hottentots. Kolben (1731), Vol. 1, p. 208. On the other hand, the agricultural tribes of Okavango have eleven different varieties of drinks. Reports (1932), p. 65.

a mark of distinction. Since, at least semi-chastity became a *sine qua non* of bride purchase, the women passed under the control of the males. In the *efundula*, however, there remained certain compensatory rituals, whereby the women retain psychological satisfaction by turning into men and masters for a brief period. Even the heavy copper leg fetters formerly worn by Ondonga and Kuanyama women of rank, signified not only their status, but also their subjection.

Since each element of the third stratum is political in its function, the third stratum as a whole may be said to be political.

Three Superimposing Layers of African Culture (i.e. the pre-agricultural hunting and fishing culture, the Negro hoe agriculture, and the Hamitic cattle-raising culture).—Finaly, it may be suggested that the three strata are not confined to the Ambo, but that similar stratification could be found widespread throughout Africa. The cattle complex is, in fact, a product of early Mediterranean civilization[1] and as such has spread from Egypt and Mesopotamia to Greece, Rome, Persia, and India. The most striking symbol of these Hamitic and Indo-European cattle-raising peoples is the sacred perpetual fire. This is the emblem not only of the original unity of the Caucasian race, but also of the sanctity of the family, the hearth, and the nation.

Oceania and the New World are lacking in the cattle complex and their cultural histories are quite different from that of Eurasia, although there are many cultural elements in common.

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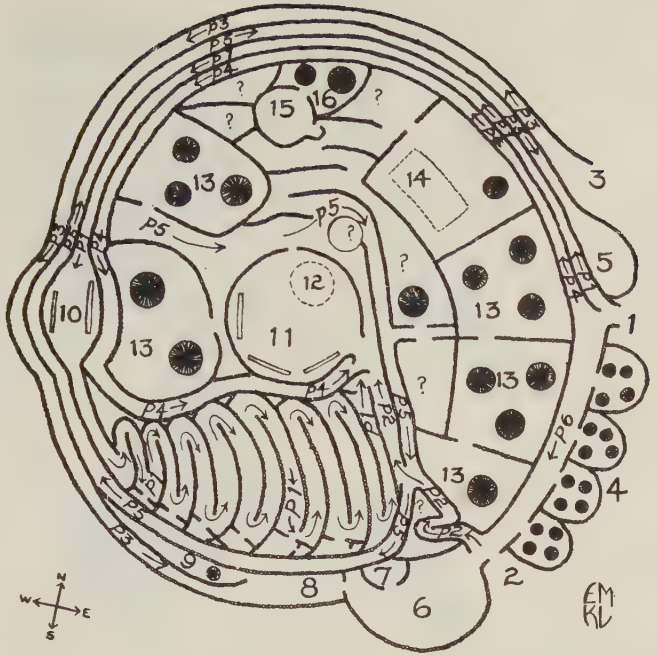
[1] According to Curson and Thornton (1936), p. 738, the Hamitic Longhorn cattle found in Ovamboland were domesticated in Egypt circa 4000-3000 B.C.



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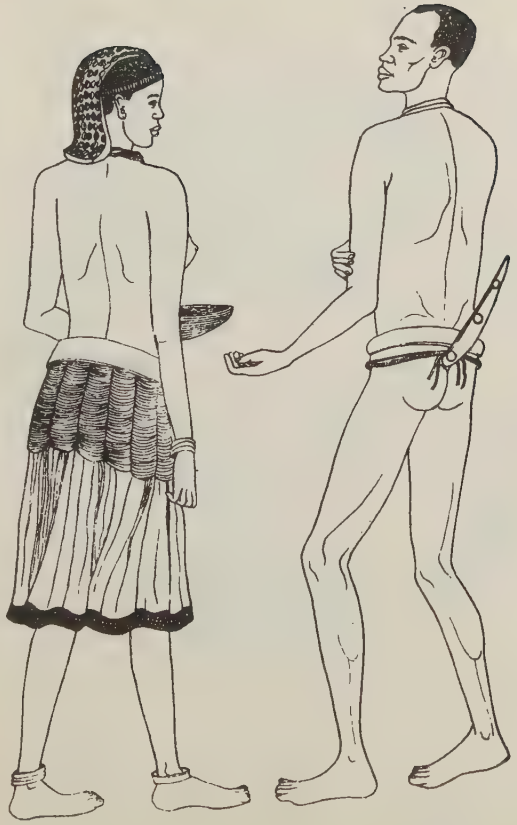

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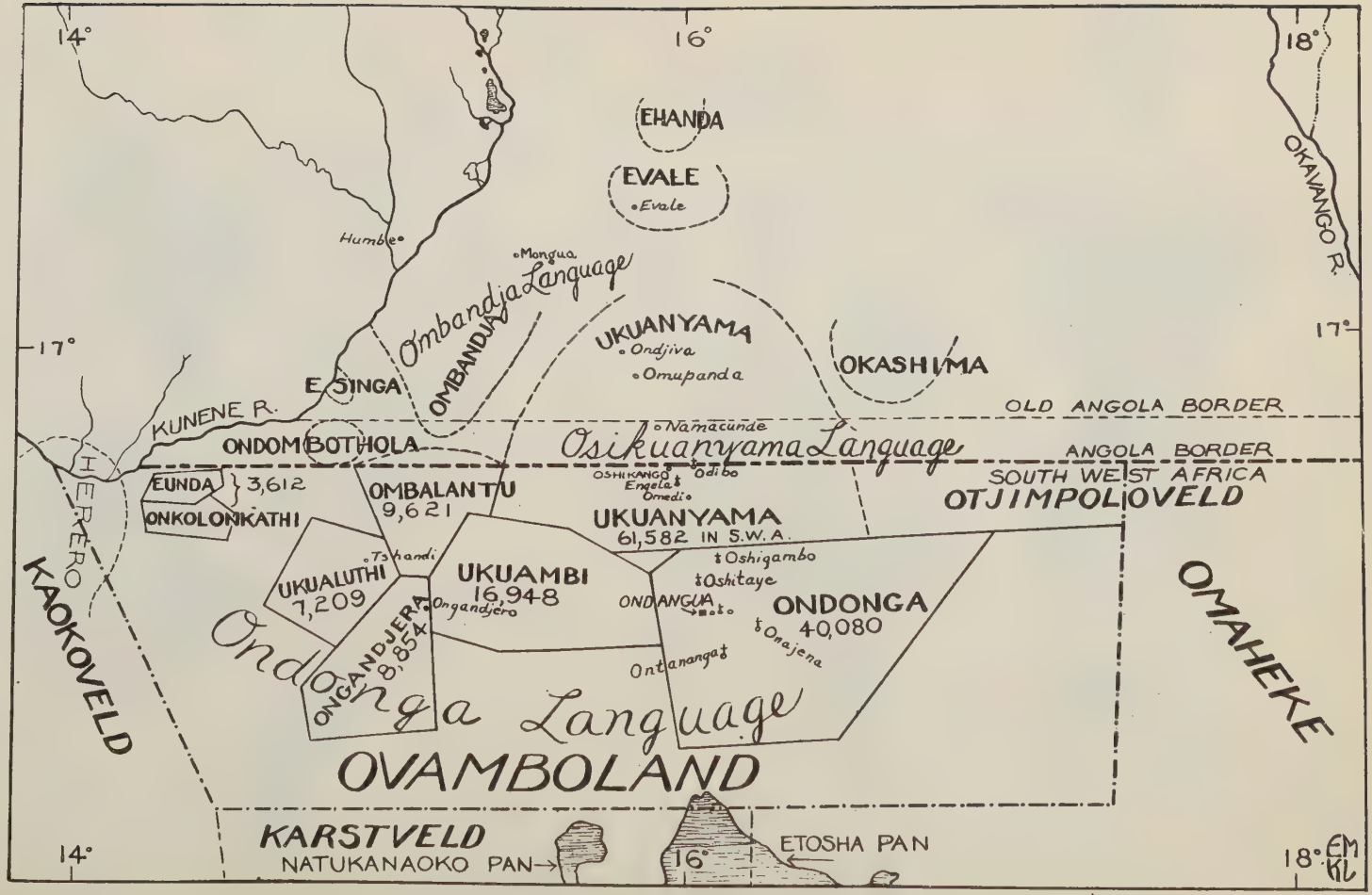
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OMBANDJA
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•Ondjiva
•Omupanda
OKASHIMA
OKAVANGO R.
E SINGA
KUNENE R.
OLD ANGOLA BORDER
•Namacunde
Osikuanyama Language
ANGOLA BORDER
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
ONDOMBOTHOLA
OSHIKANGO
Engela
Omedi
Odibo
EUNDA
3,612
ONKOLONKATHI
OMBALANTU
9,621
UKUANYAMA
61,582 IN S.W.A.
OTJIMPOLOVELD
HERERO
KAOKOVELD
Tshandi
UKUALUTHI
7,209
UKUAMBI
16,948
Ongandjera
ONGANDJERA
8,854
ONDANGUA
Oshigambo
Oshitaye
ONDONGA
40,080
Onajena
Ontanangat
OMAHEKE
Ondonga Language
OVAMBOLAND
KARSTVELD
NATUKANAOKO PAN→
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EXPLANATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 1.—KUANYAMA KING'S KRAAL, *ombala* (s.), *embala* (pl.), 1900.
(King Uejulu's kraal, Ondjiva, Angola, from P. H. BRINKER, *Unsere Ovambo Mission*, 1900.)

KEY: Round roof tops are huts; broken lines are shelters; beaded lines represent stockaded palisades; long strips are sitting logs; question marks mean items not named; (1) main entrance, *onu*; (p 1) main entrance passage, *omukala oukonu*; (2) little entrance, *okanu*; (p 2) little entrance passage, *omukala uokokanu*; (3) cattle entrance, *ombuidi jengobe*; (p 3) cattle passage, *omudingililo*; (4) king's guards huts, *enduda dovãmeni vohamba*; (p 4) chief's entrance passage, *omukala uohamba uokonu*; (5) stamping place, *osini*; (p 5) stamping place passage, *omukala uokosini*; (6) cow kraal, *osiunda sengobe sakula*; (p 6) chiefs passage to cattle kraals, *omukala uohamba uokosiunda*; (7) calf kraal, *osinjongo soutana*; (8) ox kraal, *ohambo jehove*; (9) herdsmen's hut, *onduad jovanahambo*; (10) cooking place (for boys); *epata lakula*; (11) meeting place, *olupale*; (12) beer-drinking place, *onele jokununa omalodu*; (13) women's quarters, *omapata ovalikadi*; (14) shelter for playing the *ouela* (*Mankala*) game, *etala louela*; (15) council place, *okalupale koveta*; (16) king's quarters, *okenduda dohamba*.

FIGURE 2.—KUANYAMA GIRL, *okakadona* (s.) *oukadona* (pl.)

ITEMS: Basket, *osimbale* (s.), *oimbale* (pl.); firewood, *osikuni* (s.), *oikuni* (pl.); ear-ring, *engola* (s.) *omangola* (pl.); beaded necklace, *osilanda somofingo* (s.), *oilando jomefingo* (pl.); bracelet, *osivela sokokulu* (s.), *oivela jokomaulu* (pl.); belt, *omuija uomosija* (s.), *omija jomoija* (pl.); ostrich egg-shell bead girdle, *ondjeva jomsija* (s.), *endjeva domoija* (pl.); back apron (opens under front apron), *onguuo* (s.), *enguuo* (pl.); front apron, *eteta* (s.) *omateta* (pl.).
(Omitted items are found under previous figures.)

FIGURE 3.—KUANYAMA BOY *omumati* (s.), *ovamati* (pl.).

ITEMS: Knobkerrie stick, *odimbo* (s.), *edimbo* (pl.); belt, *ekuamo lomosija* (s.), *omakuamo omoija* (pl.); api cloth, *elapi* (s.), *omalapi* (pl.).

FIGURE 4.—UNMARRIED KUANYAMA GIRL, *okakadona inakafukala* (s.), *oukadona inavafukala* (pl.).

ITEMS: Head-dress, *elende* (s.), *omalende* (pl.); cowry shells (on head-dress), *ombaba* (s.), *embaba* (pl.); (in head-dress) fat, *omãdi*, and red ochre, *olukula* (s.), *omalukula* (pl.); necklace with ivory button, *osilanda sinaekipa kofingo* (s.), *oilanda jomakipa kefingo* (pl.); skirt, *odelela* (s.), *edelela* (pl.); metal beads (on hem-band), *ouputu uokelapi* (s.), *omauputu okomalapi* (pl.).

FIGURE 5.—UNMARRIED KUANYAMA BOY (prior to 1900), *omumati inafukika* (s.), *ovamati inavafukika* (pl.).

ITEMS: Tail decoration (sign of unmarried man), *esongi* (s.), *omasongi* (pl.); native beads (at waist, *emanja lekuanjama* (s.), *omanja omakuanjama* (pl.).

FIGURE 6.—KUANYAMA BRIDE, *omufuko* (s.), *ovafuko* (pl.).

ITEMS: Head-dress, *omatela* (s.), *ematela* (pl.), of human hair, *exuiki*, sinew, *olufipa* (s.), *efipa* (pl.), fat, red ochre; wooden bands (around neck, hips, arms), *omusendje uomufuko* (s.) *omisendje jovafuko* (pl.), bound in double hoops with fibre, *olunghuse* (s.), *enghuse* (pl.); basket hand-bag, *onghinda jomofuko* (s.) *enghinda dovafuko* (pl.), and a skin cover *okakafa kokonghinda* (s.), made from the African pole cat *onghandanga*, and gifts, *osijamba* (s.), *oijamba* (pl.); skin of an unborn calf (handkerchief), *onghanda* (s.), *enghanda* (pl.); cloth handkerchief (in front of belt), *osikaiua* (s.) *oikaua* (pl.); front apron (*eteta*) of tripe, *eteta*; back apron (*onguuo*) of black ox skin, *osikafa silaula sohove;* leather panel at back, *omudjalelo* (s.), *omidjalelo* (pl.); copper anklets, *ongodo* (s.), *engodo* (pl.).

FIGURE 7.—KUANYAMA MOTHER, *omudalakadi* (s.), *ovadalakadi* (pl.).

ITEMS: Water pot, *osito someva* (s.), *oitoo jomeva* (pl.) carried on ring of palm-leaf fibre *onghata* (s.), *engata* (pl.); "rake", *olukolo* (s.), *omalukolo* (pl.); hoe, *etemo* (s.), *omatemo* (pl.); baby, *okahanana* (s.), *ouhanana* (pl.); baby sling, *odikua jokana* (s.), *edikua dounona* (pl.); with seed decoration, *jatungilua embe* (s.), *datungilua embe* (pl.); ox head skin in front of belt (a sign of mother hood), *omupolo* (s.), *omipolo* (pl.).

FIGURE 8.—EFUNDULA GIRL, *okadona kefuadula* (s.), *oukadona vomafundula* (pl.), called "bride", *omufuko*, *ovafuko* (pl.).

ITEMS : Dancing wand of horse-tail, *efungu lefundula* (s.), *omafungu omafundula* (pl.) ; tassels of *osihamulende* seeds in hair, *epole* (s.), *omapole* (pl.) ; collarette of ox intestines (worn on fourth day), *osilenga* (s.), *oilenga* (pl.) ; the girdle (*ondjeva jomosija*) reaches the knees ; button ornaments, *omitete jomakipa* (s.), *omutete uomakipa* (pl.), of carved ivory, *ekipa* (s.) *omakipa* (pl.), and sea shells, *omba* (s.), *emba* (pl.), sewed on strips of leather ; rattle anklets made of pebbles in cacoons, *efiti* (s.), *efiti* (pl.).

FIGURE 9.—KUANYAMA MAN, *omunjumbo* (s.), *ovanjumbo* (pl.), as rhythm leader (beater of hoes), *omudengi uomatemo* (s.), *ovadengi vomatemo* (pl.).

ITEMS : Metal whistle, *osiva* (s.), *esiva* (pl.), formerly a wooden whistle, *epoli* (s.), *omapoli* (pl.) ; hoe blades, *etemo* (s.), *omatemo* (pl.) ; rhythm stick, *onghongholo* (s.), *enghongholo* (pl.) ; shirt, *ohema* (s.), *ehema* (pl.) ; lapi, worn between the legs, *elapi lokulambida* (s.), *omalapi okulambida* (pl.).

FIGURE 10.—KUANYAMA WARRIOR, *omukuaita* (s.). *ovakuaita* (pl.), AS DRUMMER, *omusikiuongoma* (s.) *ovasikivangoma* (pl.).

ITEMS: Head decoration, *omutumbo* (s.), *omitumbo* (pl.), with ostrich feather, *ohala* (s.), *ehala* (pl.) ; skin worn between the legs, *osipa soklambida* (s.), *oipa jokulambida* (pl.) a cup-shaped skin worn on the buttocks with the hollow greased to prevent chafing on long journeys *onghutuva* (s.), *enghutuva* (pl.) ; knee-band decoration, *onghuasipindi* (s.), *enghuasipindi* (pl.) ; drum, *ongoma* (s.), *engoma* (pl.).

FIGURE 11.—ASH GIRL, *osihanangolo* (s.), *oihanangolo* (pl.) (prior to 1915).

ITEMS : White ash, *omute* (s.), *omite* (pl.), is smeared on the face and body ; the head-dress (*omatela*) is ceremonially called "bread", *omungome* (s.), *omingome* (pl.), and has a "fertility" plant, *ohala* (s.), *ehala* (pl.) stuck in its central peak ; a mask of wooden sticks called "whistles", *onghongholo* (s.) *enghongholo* (pl.), with herbs, *oshimbodi* (s.). *oimbodi* (pl.), inside stopped up by cotton, *omundele* (s.) *omindele* (pl.) ; a goatee of fibre, *endjedi dosimeno* (s.), *endjedi doimeno* (pl.) ; a fibre necklace, like herd-boys, *ongodi jomofingo* (s.), *engodi lomofingo* (pl.), represents the herd-boys, *omufita* (s.), *ovafita* (pl.) ; aloe sticks strung around the neck and under the arms, *ositi sendobo* (s.), *oiti jomandobo* (pl.) represent the porcupine, *sinjengu* (s.), *osinjenu* (pl.) ; cartridge belt (wooden imitation), *ehomato* (s.) *omahomato* (pl.) ; walking stick, *onondje* (s.), *enondje* (pl.) ; kerrie-sticks, *edimbo* (s.), *odimbo* (pl.).

FIGURE 12.—ASH GIRL (1948).

ITEMS : Mask, *onghongholo*, made of fibre, *osiva* (s.), *esiva* (pl.) ; fibre skirt, *omundjalo uenghuse* (s.), *omidjalo denghuse* (pl.).

ERRATUM

The bottom of p. 24, 1st column, *African Studies* 7 (1) should read as follows : "Under a system of polygyny this would place the men under constant restrictions. But the women have to obey certain restrictions. However, they continue all their customary work while pregnant" etc.

MODERN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PLATEAU TONGA[1]

ELIZABETH COLSON

INTRODUCTION

THE Plateau Tonga are a group of egalitarian matrilineal people living in what is now known as the Maize Belt of Northern Rhodesia. Traditionally they were cattle keepers and shifting cultivators with little trade or economic differentiation. Settlement was in small villages scattered across the country-side. These villages were but loosely bound together into larger social and political units. Political authority, if it existed, was in embryonic form and never extended over any large group or wide territory. There were no courts, chiefs, or disinterested parties with authority to judge claims and enforce decisions. The feud was the real sanction. Enforcement of claims ultimately rested on the solidarity of small groups of matrilineal kinsmen who would resort to force to protect their members' rights or to avenge their wrongs. Such kin groups, however, did not form part of a segmentary lineage system, nor did they fit into a territorial organization.

To-day this stateless society has received new political forms. I shall deal here chiefly with the position of the Native Authorities who have been created by government and with their courts which fill the gap left by the outlawing of self-help. However, to understand the position of the Authorities, it is necessary to sketch rather fully the indigenous forms of organization.

The Tonga

It is difficult to define what we mean when we speak of the Plateau Tonga, since they were not demarcated from their neighbours by political boundaries. In Northern Rhodesia and adjacent areas of Southern Rhodesia, there are people who speak a number of related dialects of what Doke has called the Tonga Group.[2] Within this group there are people who are commonly referred to as the Plateau Tonga. I am dealing here with the northern branch of the Plateau Tonga who live within the Mazabuka District. At the present time they number between 70,000 to 110,000, with an average population density in the neighbourhood of 50 per square mile. They inhabit an area stretching from the Escarpment hills of the Zambezi on the east to the Mutama basin on the west, with northern and southern borders roughly at the town of Mazabuka and at Muzoka stream. To-day it is divided into eastern and western sections by the railway line which runs between Livingstone and the Congo border. The area includes about 4000 square miles, and

[1] This is a preliminary paper on this subject and is based on work done among the Tonga, from September 1946 to September 1947. It is subject to change in the light of further investigations to be made during 1948–9. I originally wrote the paper for a seminar at the London School of Economics and have revised it for publication. I must thank members of that seminar for criticisms. I also wish to thank my colleagues of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute: Mr. John Barnes and Mr. Clyde Mitchell, and Dr. M. Gluckman, former Director of the Institute. The picture given here of the working of the court system and the relationship of the authorities to the District Administration may be substantially changed in 1948. The staff of the District Office has been increased, with the result that touring is once more possible. District boundaries are to be changed and a new district created which will reduce the area that must be supervised and will also place the District Office more nearly in the centre of Tonga country.

[2] C. M. DOKE, *Bantu Modern Grammatical, Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860*, p. 31. Published for International African Institute by Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd. London, 1945. The Plateau Tonga have no connexion whatsoever with the people described by Junod.

Throughout this paper I have adopted the common practice of dropping the prefixes to tribal names and thus write Tonga instead of Batonga, etc. Moreover since Tonga is now a written language I have attempted to follow standard spellings for the few native words which appear here in preference to strict phonetic renderings.

is little differentiated topographically except on the east where it runs into the Escarpment and on the north-west where it reaches the flood plains of the lower Magoye and the Kafue River. Across this area, slight changes in dialect and custom eventually accumulate to distinguish those at one end of the country from their fellow Tonga at the opposite end, while those on the borders merge into the Ila, We, Lenge, Sala and other groups speaking related dialects. Nowhere is there any sudden break which defines a limited unit within the whole linguistic group.

History

Practically nothing is known of the early history of the Tonga. They themselves have no legends of migration nor any historical accounts which go back beyond the middle of the last century. It is safe only to assume that they were in their present area before the end of the eighteenth century. If they met and overcame any earlier inhabitants, the descendants have been completely assimilated into the general Tonga society.

During the nineteenth century, the Tonga were badly smashed by raids in which Kololo, Ndebele, and Lozi overran the country. When Livingstone passed through the area in 1855, the Tonga told him that formerly they had lived in large towns and had owned great herds of cattle. About 1832 a raiding party under Pingola came from the north and looted much of the cattle. Before the Tonga had recovered from this raid they were beset by the Kololo who at one time established themselves in the country of the Tonga south of the Muzoka. When Livingstone visited the Tonga, they were living in tiny hamlets scattered over the country-side and had lost most of their cattle. The raids continued for another forty years. At the time the European occupation began most of the Tonga were paying tribute to the Lozi, which secured them some slight immunity from raids from that direction, though they were never incorporated into the Lozi kingdom.[1] The Ndebele were not so easily handled. By 1890, the Tonga were a harassed and beaten people hiding out in the Escarpment hills or in other slightly protected spots.

On the other hand they were away from the main slave and trade routes which brought the Portuguese and Arabs into the country. Occasionally Mambari traders passed through collecting slaves in exchange for iron hoes, but they did not attempt to strengthen local leaders or to set up their own strongholds as they did further north.

I. INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATION

It is thus over a hundred years since the indigenous organization could operate undisturbed from foreign attack or from foreign control. The Tonga may once have had a more complex structure which perished during the period of the raids. I am not prepared therefore to argue that the system which I am now presenting was workable in the days before the European peace established a general community of law. But it is the system which the Tonga to-day conceive as their indigenous one and which therefore presumably conditions their response to the new system introduced by European administration. It also forms the framework of their present day society, for it still exists, though again it adapts itself to the presence of new political institutions and new social elements fostered by European occupation.

In the indigenous system social and political structure rests on four basic elements: village, district, kin group, and clan. The first two are local groups in which membership is largely a matter of personal choice. Kin group and clan affiliation are determined at birth, through matrilineal inheritance.

Clan and Kin Group

The clan (*mukowa*) is the only one of the four which includes any large number of people, or extends over any great area. Twelve clans are

[1] The Tonga south of Muzoka were incorporated to some extent, and were given Lozi rulers.

spread widely throughout the country: two or three more appear only in the western areas. Near the north-western border the system of clan names changes radically, but over the rest of the country the stranger has a chance of affiliating himself to some member of any community in which he may find himself by using the common bonds of clanship. Such bonds, however, must not be strained too far. The feeling of kinship evoked by common clan membership is rather vague and is unlikely to lead to more than provision of hospitality. The only other aspect of the clan that appears to-day is its exogamous character. This is the aspect which the Tonga themselves stress. For the rest—the clan is a dispersed group with no corporate existence. It owns no land, has no shrines common to the entire clan, and never assembles for any purpose. Within the clan there are no recognized leaders who speak for the clan as a whole, or for any portion of it larger than the kin group. Nor are the clans graded with respect to each other or given professional or ritual rôles which they must perform in the interests of the community as a whole.

The kin group, on the other hand, is of considerable importance. It is the group of people who share at least a fiction of common matrilineal descent, though the exact genealogical links may not be known. To it are affiliated the slaves, to-day the former slaves, of its members. The children of female slaves keep this affiliation and within a generation or so all distinctions between them and bona-fide members of the group disappear, save that marriage with such affiliated people is not considered a breach of exogamy though they now bear the same clan name. The Tonga commonly refer to the kin group as *mukowa*—which is also the word for clan—but older informants in some areas say that it is more properly called *chitiba*.[1] It is this group which acts in inheritance, which owns joint property, which provides and receives bride wealth, which demands compensation for injury to its members and is held responsible for its members' actions. It is this group, and not the village, which is involved in feuds. At the present time such groups probably rarely exceed more than twenty to thirty adult members. We have no reason to assume that they were ever much larger. Internally, the group is not differentiated. That is, the children of one woman do not regard themselves as a unit in distinction to the children of their mother's sisters, and the children of sisters do not combine to form a unit in distinction to the children of their grandmother's sisters. All members of the group have equal rights within it. Therefore there is no need of exact genealogical knowledge to define one's position and rights in relation to the other members. Usually some older man is regarded as the leader of the group, but his authority depends largely on his own personality and is not institutionalized. The kin group is thus essentially egalitarian. When the leader dies the group chooses a successor from among their members, or if no suitable person is available they might even take a son of the dead man.

Such a group is not necessarily localized. The Tonga are matrilineal, but they tend to be patrilocal. The rule is that each man has the right to live where he will. In pre-European days a man tried to settle with close relatives and preferred to marry into kin groups with which marriage ties were already established. Cross-cousin marriage was common. But if genealogies are to be believed, distant marriages and frequent shifts of residence have always been fairly common. Some children return to live with their maternal relatives; many do not. So, over a generation or so, the kin group may become widely dispersed. A woman may marry a man who lives some distance away; her children marry into still more distant villages. Soon all memory of the original kin ties are lost. A striking feature of Tonga genealogies is the failure to remember the names of ancestors beyond the grandparent generation. Often even these are forgotten. Kin groups thus constantly are being reduced to small units, seldom of more than three generations depth beyond the oldest living members. Once the

[1] This term literally means "dish" or "plate". According to informants, it is applied to the kin group because at the funeral of a member of the group they all gather to eat from one plate.

original kin tie is forgotten, the relationship fades into clanship. But so long as the memory of the link remains, the rights and duties involved in the kin group do not depend on common residence. The property which is inherited through the group is largely movable property such as cattle and other goods, and not land. This was plentiful. With a growing land shortage, however, it is beginning to be regarded as property which can be inherited. This might lead eventually to a localization of the kin group since the only right in land which can be inherited is the right to cultivate it or to place one's dwelling upon it. This right can only be vested in those who live close enough to the inheritance to undertake the cultivation. To-day, therefore, land is only claimed by the kin group if it has members who live in the immediate vicinity and who are in need of land. Otherwise it is left to the wives or children of the dead, or allowed to pass to strangers or abandoned entirely. There is still sufficient land so that a man need not cling to his kin for rights to cultivate a bit of it. He is therefore free to wander and to establish himself in new territory or with relatives against whom he has no strictly enforceable claims.[1]

Though an individual has his primary kin affiliation through his matrilineal line, he also has an honorary life membership in his father's matrilineal group. He has a right to look to this group for assistance and protection, and they in turn have certain rights over him and his property. This two-fold affiliation is recognized on all ritual occasions surrounding the life cycle of the individual—at naming, at puberty, at marriage and at death. Both matrilineal groups contribute to the bridewealth of the men who link them, and share in the distribution of the bride wealth of the women. A man's matrilineal group will call upon his father's group to help them pay his fines or other claims which have arisen against him. Each group has claims on his property. When a man dies, his property is divided into two portions. The smaller is given to the matrilineal group of his father; the larger to his own matrilineal group. Finally, the ancestral spirits of both groups can affect the individual's welfare.

Such a share in responsibility and in interest implies an expectation of co-operation between the two groups which will end only at the final ceremony of inheritance. Since common residence in a territory soon sets up a series of intermarriages between kin groups, there is an intricate linking of the matrilineal groups represented in any neighbourhood. A general neighbourhood dispute would involve the rupture of this balance of interlocking groups. On the other hand these linkages are not permanent ones. They are dissolved at the death of the individuals who themselves form the links, while new ones come into existence with each generation.

Village and District

Village and district are made up of people whose primary allegiances are to a number of different matrilineal groups, since residence is largely a matter of personal choice. Nevertheless village and neighbourhood loom larger in every day life than do the dispersed kin groups. They are the units within which ordinary co-operation in productive activities takes place, within which people live, work and play.

At the present time a village (*muunzi*) contains about a hundred individuals and perhaps thirty huts. There are no really large villages. To the north-west and in the Escarpment country to the east fairly compact villages are common, and each village is separated from its neighbours by a stretch of country. Elsewhere the village is composed of a number of tiny clusters of huts united under a common headman, and the huts of neighbouring villages are so intermixed that it is impossible to sort out their village affiliations save by questioning. Nevertheless, even here the corporate nature of the village is recognized. It is known by the name of its headman. At most beer drinks people are seated and served according to their village affiliation. The people of a village may go in a body to attend the funerals of their neighbourhood.

[1] Cf. W. Allan, M. Gluckman, D. Peters, and C. G. Trapnell, *Land-Holding and Land-Usage Among the Plateau Tonga of Mazabuka District*. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Paper Fourteen, 1948.

Villages as such, however, do not undertake responsibility for their members. Formerly if trouble arose a stranger settled in a village might find himself handed over into slavery. Even to-day there is little feeling that common residence creates any bond of common responsibility. In 1947, two men from Chobana village ventured near a man to whom one owed money. An attempt was made to hold them both for payment of the debt, but the companion announced: "We're not related. We just live in the same village." With that he cleared off home, leaving the debtor to face the music. The same attitude is shown in the modern chief's courts. When a man has a case, he should be accompanied by members of his matrilineal group and by members of his father's group. Rarely would his headman come unless he happened to be a member of one of these two groups.

The authority of the headman, except that derived from government is largely nominal and depends upon his personal qualities. Though most of the residents in his village have usually at least some tenuous tie of relationship to him, these ties are of a most varied pattern. His own matrilineal kin group usually represents only a minority of the adult inhabitants. If the headman attempted to enforce his authority, he would soon find himself alone with his people departed to join other relatives or to try their luck with some stranger. In this case his village probably vanishes and he is forced to join some neighbouring village with the remnant of his followers. On the other hand, new villages are formed with almost equal ease. Any man who can persuade nine adult men to join him can found his own village and become a headman.[1] Since the village as such owns no property, the processes of dissolution and formation are simplified. In some cases a man may shift his village affiliation without shifting his huts or his fields. Part of the inhabitants of a village may decide to hive off under a new headman, and will do so, though all the time they move not a step from their previous location.

[1] Before the days of European administration introduced the rule that each village must contain at least ten tax-payers the formation of new villages was even easier.

Not only do the members of a village often change their residence. Villages themselves shift as lands become exhausted, or if for some reason the area becomes uncongenial to them. Most of such shifts are within the range of a few miles, but some may take the village twenty miles or more from its old site. Thus while a village is a localized group, it is not territorially defined. Nor is it firmly integrated into a larger territorial framework. Most villages, however, do exist within a larger unit which we may call a neighbourhood. In some parts of Tonga country this merely consists of a group of villages in fairly close proximity bound loosely together by a relatively dense set of inter-relationships established by intermarriages. In such cases a neighbourhood can be defined only with reference to a particular village. The next village will be within a slightly different neighbourhood. For such neighbourhoods, the Tonga seems to have no word. Elsewhere rather more organization exists, and we might be justified in speaking of a group of villages constituting a district (*chisi* or *katongo*). According to the Tonga, the first man to move into an unoccupied area to found his village is regarded as the owner of the area and the leader of those who come after him. He is known as *ulanyika* or *sikatongo*. Either term can be translated as "owner of the country". Those who followed him might join his village or found their own, but they recognized a tenuous alliance to the leader, and therefore to each other. The authority of the *ulanyika* was exceedingly nebulous. He was distinguished by no badge or mark of office and was treated with no special respect. Theoretically newcomers should consult him before settling near him but he had no redress save fighting if they did not. They usually did not pay him tribute in kind or in labour. He had no authority to settle their cases, nor did he have any way to enforce his judgment if they did not consult him. He was essentially a first among equals. In any event his district consisted of only a few square miles, and probably did not have any definite boundaries. In the north-west, such districts occasionally mobilized for inter-district battles. Elsewhere even such signs of cohesion are lacking.

When the *ulanyika* died, his matrilineal kin group chose a successor—usually from among the group, but if no suitable person was available it might choose a slave, or a son, or some non-related person. When the successor died, the next heir might belong to the original kin group, to the successor's kin group, or to some third group. The recognized rule was that the chosen person must be someone with the ability to keep the people properly. This was the same rule which applied in the choice of a successor to the leader of the kin group or to the headman of a village.

The Rain Shrines

Such districts are frequently given more tangible expression in the form of a common rain cult and rain shrine.[1] The Tonga believe that certain spirits are able to intercede on their behalf to obtain rain or relief from pestilence or other general disaster which besets the whole community. These spirits are called *basangu*.[2] Shrines are built where they are invoked during the yearly ceremonies held at the beginning of the rains or in times of crisis which affect the entire community.

A shrine may be built at the grave of the *ulanyika*, on the grounds that since he led the community during his life he is still interested in its general welfare. Here his spirit is invoked as a *basangu* and appealed to as a protector of the whole community and everyone is expected to take part in the ritual. On other occasions, his own kin group may approach him as a *muzimo*, ancestral spirit, but in this role he had power to affect only his own kin or his own descendants—then only his own kin group may participate in the ritual and this is never performed at the rain shrine. Other shrines are in the hands of people whom we might call "rain-makers" though the Tonga themselves have no special name for them. Such a person is possessed by a *basangu*, which may be that of some former member of the community or may be a foreign spirit previously unknown to the area. A few such individuals became famous and people from distant areas visited their shrines to ask for rain or for protection in times of crisis. Most shrines have only a local appeal.

During the period when the ritual was being enacted at the shrine a general community peace was imposed, and those who broke it or who failed to take part in the ritual could be punished by a fine, which went either to the shrines or to the elders of the whole community. At all times sacrilege against the shrine was a matter involving the community and was punished by the community through its elders. Thus within the context of the rain cult community you begin to find the emergence of public law in contrast to the private vengeance of the kin groups. The custodians of the rain-shrines, whether "rain-makers" or not, had some power over the community by virtue of their positions. They set the time for the performance of the ritual and assigned to various people their roles in the rite. Occasionally those who were possessed by *basangu* might make some pronouncement which had political implications. Ordinarily, however, their authority did not extend beyond the ritual sphere.

When the rain-maker died, the cult which he had initiated would continue. His kin group would appoint one of its members to lead the ritual, just as at the shrine of the *ulanyika* the ritual remained in the hands of his kin group. There was thus some integration of a rain cult community over time, though shrines and cults seem to have a high mortality. None of those which I traced seem to go back much before 1850, and many are even more recent. Since the units in Tonga society were constantly shifting, the communities symbolized by the rain shrines were unstable. I suspect that there was a constant redrawing of community lines. New shrines came into existence which represented the new alignment better than could the old shrines, and these lost their popularity and disappeared. But so long as the shrine existed and the ritual was enacted, the district had a rallying point which

[1] A paper on the Tonga rain cults is shortly to appear in "*Africa*".

[2] In the north-western area they are called *baami ba imvula*, "chiefs (or lords) of the rain". In this area *basangu* refers to evil spirits.

served to keep the peace : for at least once a year all within the community had to co-operate in the common ritual if they wished to secure rain for their fields.

On the whole, however, the boundaries of community feeling were fluid. In a sense customary law was recognized over a larger territory than that outlined above, for a system of compensation payments was recognized and used. However, it is difficult to-day to learn where compensation ended and retaliation began. The Tonga say that those people who visited back and forth were likely to settle differences by compensation, but they also claim that it was against neighbouring people that you were most likely to resort to retaliation since they were within easy reach.

II. MODERN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Upon this system has been imposed a superstructure created by the European administration. At the present time the Tonga are organized under the Plateau Tonga Native Authority, under the guidance of the district officers of the Mazabuka District. The territory has been divided into fourteen districts, each with its own chief, one of whom acts also as Paramount Chief of the Tonga. Each chief has a Native Authority court with two assessors, a court clerk, and various court messengers. From their courts, an appeal is sent to the court of the Paramount, which also functions as the local court of the Paramount's own district. Or it may be sent directly to the Appeal Court which is consituted four times a year at the quarterly meetings of all Native Authorities of the area. The Native Authorities have power to make rules and orders changing native customs and instituting new customs which they think necessary for the welfare of their people. In the area is also the administrative organization of the District Officer who has his own messengers and clerks, and the right to review all court proceedings from Authority Courts. There are European police officials and their trained African police, who are not responsible to the Native Authority. There are various technical officers with their African assistants who are responsible ultimately to the heads of their departments, though to some extent they co-operate with and work through the Native Authorities. There are a number of missions, which provide most of the schools in the area and which also maintain a right to a moral supervision of their converts and attempt to interfere with the lives of the pagans.

Within the Tonga community itself, where formerly you had an egalitarian group, with almost no status differences, you now find political, religious, educational, occupational, and economic differentiation. A few Tonga have emerged as cash crop maize farmers on a large scale. They represent less than one per cent of the group, but another fourteen per cent of the people are raising maize for the market. Some men have become hawkers, who buy eggs and chickens and bring them to the railway ; others have opened tea rooms and small trading stores. Some have become teachers, agricultural assistants or veterinary assistants, or have entered some other field of specialization. Others have gone to work as labourers on the European farms in the area, while still others work in the little settlements along the railway line. Twenty-five per cent of the able-bodied men are away as labour migrants. Even those who remain as subsistence cultivators have adopted the plough and have abandoned the old type of agriculture for a concentration on maize. Even the composition of the group is changing—men of foreign tribes have been drawn to the area by the opportunities to work on the railway line or on the European farms, and many of them marry Tonga women and settle in Tonga villages after they tire of working. On the west there is an influx of Lozi and Balovale, some of whom have set up their

own villages. On the east a constant stream of immigration from the We swells the population. Down the railway line come Bemba, Lozi, Ngoni, and men from Nyasaland or Tanganyika. Men returning from Southern Rhodesia may bring with them Shona or Ndebele wives. Ndebele servants from one of the missions have founded a colony which is demanding autonomy.

This complex society has been created in approximately the last forty years. Some of the stresses and strains found here are incidental to a fairly rapid change, and could be expected in any group. Others are due to the attempt to impose an organized political structure of chieftancies on a stateless society. Still others are due to the cleavage in interests between black and white.

The Tonga passed under European administration at the end of the nineteenth century when the Lozi signed the Barotseland Concession with the British South African Company. The Lozi ceded to the Company many of its tributary areas, though they stipulated that the rights of Africans to land and water supplies must not be disturbed. The legal right of the Company—and therefore ultimately of the British Crown—to administer Tonga country rests on this concession, for the Tonga were among those who paid tribute, though they were outside the limits of the Lozi kingdom. It is not a right based on conquest. The Tonga had never considered themselves a warlike group, and they seem to have accepted the announcement that they must now obey the Europeans with considerable equanimity. It is quite possible that they even conceived the presence of company officials as something which was primarily for their benefit, as an agency which protected them from the raids which had devastated their country. At least the older people will often say that they thank the Europeans for the peace they brought. One chief declared: "There was an old trouble here, and we were very glad to see the Europeans come to help us. Before, if you had a child, it could not grow. If you had to run away before the raiders, you had to put something in its mouth so it wouldn't cry and betray you. That is the way the Europeans help us. The Europeans want only to take money from us. The Ndebele and Lozi took our cattle and killed us. Now we are becoming rich with many cattle and there are many people." Others will say that the Government is good because it stopped the wars and now the people can have their cattle in peace.

By 1903, civil administration began. Most of the records from the early period were lost when the district office was moved about 1927, and I have been unable to discover what the administrative organization was at this period or with what it concerned itself. It did institute a system of taxation; it prohibited the local feuds which formerly had been the alternative to compensation; and it introduced the ten tax-payer rule which tended to stabalize the village. The village was then made the basis of what political organization existed. The area was toured, and village headmen were appointed. This seems to have amounted to the recognition of the most important man in the village as the responsible head. No attempt was made to interfere with his position or to set up new people in contrast to him. His authority must indeed have been strengthened by the regulations against scattering out into tiny settlements which gave him some slight power to hold his people to him. When he died, or resigned, his kin group continued to choose a successor, who was confirmed by the District Officer as the new headman of the village. This is still the position of the headman. Gradually, however, an attempt was made to combine these headmen and their villages into larger units under chiefs. Before 1918, 116 districts under various leaders were recognized. This probably amounted to a recognition of the *ulanyika* or the ritual leader of a community, and did not run counter to the indigenous organization. But in 1918, these units were combined into twelve districts under chiefs, and Monze was regarded as having some claim to be chief of all the Tonga. When the Native Authorities Ordinance came into force in 1930, the basic political divisions were already drawn. The Administration had now only to cloak this framework with the powers authorized by the Ordinance, to institute courts

with paid clerks and assessors, and later to institute the tribal treasury and the Native Authority Meetings.

To-day administrative officers recognize that the Tonga had no chiefs in pre-European days; the early officials on the other hand assumed that there was a chiefly status with some territorial basis, and they went to some effort to find out who should be the proper holder of the status in a particular area. Some of the men chosen were *ulanyika*, or the descendants of *ulanyika*. Others were rain-makers or the leaders of rain cults. The successor of the most famous rain-maker was recognized as Paramount Chief. The administration assumed that such status was hereditary, not realizing that it had created an entirely new status. The Tonga assumed that since the kin group had always had the rights to choose the successors to its own members, that it had the right to choose the successors to the chiefs, though this choice now involved a leader for an entire chieftaincy as well as for the kin group itself. Thus small groups of matrilineal kin obtained a vested right in an office which was financed by the whole chieftaincy and which had power over all the people in the chieftaincy. It is still too early to be certain just how rigidly the group will enforce its claims, but there are indications that where formerly the kin tried to choose the best man even if they had to go outside the kin group to find him, they now feel that the inheritance of chiefly status must remain strictly within the group itself. In 1947, the District Officer proposed to the assembled Native Authorities that in the future succession to the office should be by a modified form of election to ensure that the best man became chief. The chiefs vetoed the proposal on the grounds that the kin group would lose its rights. Thus real authority attached to a status position with territorial jurisdiction is vested in a small kin group. This group because of its control of an office is differentiated from the multitude of other kin groups in the community, with which it was formerly equal. Members of chiefly kin groups have not consolidated themselves into a distinct class as yet, though it is possible that they may do so. So long as legislative powers remain in the hands of the chiefs, who are also representatives of their kin groups, the method of succession is unlikely to change.

The rest of the Tonga view their chiefs not as hereditary representatives of their community but as government appointments. They often call them "government chiefs". They treat such men with no particular reverence. One chief with a few followers moved away from his main village because his people beat him up whenever he was drunk. The chiefs are supposed to control movements between villages, but they are not able to control even their own kin groups. In 1947 when one chief was absent at the Native Authority Meeting, some of his immediate kin hurried their goods on to sledges and moved off to a site about a mile from his village. The chief had refused them permission to move, so they ran away when they knew he would be gone for several days. Even where the chief can enrol the support of his own kin group, this is a numerically insignificant element in his district. To some extent he tries to gain popular support by spending his salary or using his crops to feed or give gifts to his people. His peers under the old system, the *ulanyika* or ritual leaders are not recognized by government in any way at the present time. In one district, however, the chief is said to hand over to them a portion of his salary in an attempt to enlist their backing. Despite these measures, I know of only one chief who is really popular with his people, and this may be due to the fact that his district is so small that he can keep in personal touch with all his people, and so in a sense is only a glorified *ulanyika*.

To consolidate their positions, the chiefs then turn to other devices. Some send tribute to the Lozi to try to establish a claim as having been tribute collectors and therefore community leaders in the pre-European days. They emphasize the importance of the rain cults in the control of their kin groups, and ignore the other rain shrines and cults existing in their districts. The Paramount even refuses to admit that there are any rain shrines except that of the Monze in the whole of Tonga country. But mainly, chiefs and counsellors emphasize their position to the people as representatives of government. This is stressed again and again. In 1947, the District Officer sent a request

for carriers to the Paramount Chief. A counsellor and several court messengers accompanied the Boma messengers to find men. One headman who had been told to assemble his people was not able to round them up. The whole village was ordered into court, where the counsellor lectured them: "Here at the court we do the work of the government. We get the law of the government. So we don't want you to fight us and refuse to listen if we come to your villages. That is our work. If you fight with us, you don't fight only with us. You are fighting the government. We must follow only the law of the government. Long ago we ourselves had no court like this or books. We belong to the government and we had better understand its laws. Now I can't be afraid to come by myself to your village, for since I have joined the work of the government I am the government. If you fight me, you fight the government." He made no appeal to any loyalty to chief or court, nor any suggestion that their dignity and rights were offended. In the discussion, the village headman commented: "I always try my best when I hear the law. I myself wonder at my people. I told them: 'If you do like this, you will be wrong to the government, for I am the headman of the government and I get the law from the government'." Then men of the village agreed wholeheartedly and probably quite hypocritically that they had misunderstood the instructions and that "We can't fight the word of the government at all".

The chiefs and courts need this government backing, and make no mistake in emphasizing it. It is said that the people of one chieftaincy are so incensed when the court gives a judgment against them that they refuse to give chief or other court officials food or water if they chance to come through the village. Clerks and counsellors say they are liable to be cursed when they meet men who have lost cases. Court messengers are threatened with beatings when they go out to issue summons. At one of the more popular courts, they chose a new messenger who at best could be called only a drunkard, always in trouble of some sort or another, but the court philosophized that at least he was not afraid to go out to call men to the court. Since this is so, perhaps the courts and chiefs are wise to shift responsiblity to government, especially when it comes to new rules or modifications of old customs. In some cases the attitude is that if government gives them an order they will be happy to pass it on, but they refuse to take the responsibility on their own authority. When the government got a grant to supply the schools with work oxen, the agricultural officers had great difficulty in buying oxen though the area is overstocked. In one chieftaincy the people openly said that they would not sell their stock unless ordered to do so by the Native Authority. The Native Authority promptly said they would not issue such an order unless told to do so by the District Officer.

Even where the Native Authorities have taken initiative, they still stress their position as government agents. In months of listening to chief's courts, I never heard a reference made to Native Authority orders. The courts always refer to them as government rules imposed from the District Office, though theoretically at least such rules are the legislation of the Authorities themselves. At a court case referred to the Authority by the District Officer, one of the counsellors boasted: "We have real power here! This case was sent to us by the D.O. and not by another chief."

Obviously such reliance on the authority of the administration involves an admission that their own powers are distinctly limited. The chiefs and counsellors realize only too clearly that they sit in danger of suspension or removal if they go counter to government instructions. When a man demands a large compensation, they may even produce the court record book and show him where the D.O. has commented that the fines and compensations allowed are too large and must be brought down. Sometimes a case provokes them to considerable indignation, and they may declare that they want to give the man a large fine and would do so if only they did not fear that he would run to the District Office and the District Officer would send to say: "I think you are tired of being a chief and that is why you gave this man such a heavy charge". The chiefs may even use this insecurity of tenure

against each other. At least one went riding off in great wrath accompanied by his clerk and counsellors to threaten a neighbouring chief, who had decided a case in favour of his own nephew, with the wrath of the District Officer and possible dismissal from office. In a sense, the District Officer sits in every court, influencing its judgements.

By what I have said above, I do not mean to imply that the Tonga completely disregard their Native Authorities or that they do not use their courts. With the outlawing of feud and self-help some other method of settling disputes became necessary. The courts handle a large number of cases and are constantly extending their influence. A good many cases are still settled outside the court, through the discussion among the elders of the kin groups involved, or are taken for arbitration to other old people in the community, or to the headman. The court officials themselves sit on many cases outside the court. But cases of all types, including those for witchcraft, find their way into the regular court, and the courts regard it as part of their duty to educate people in more regular procedures for settling their cases. They urge their people to come to the court on any matter where the transfer of property is involved so that a proper record can be made. To some of the Native Authorities the possession of a popular court has become an established goal, and they conceive of themselves as an agency for re-establishing community peace as well as an agency for educating people in the new legal rules.

It is difficult to say how far they attain their goal, and some courts, of course, make no such efforts. It is not an easy matter to be court officials in an area where the court system is just being established, where many cases arise from new types of economic and social relationships, for which there are as yet no established rules, and where even those cases arising from an indigenous background may be without established precedent. One counsellor suggested to me that government should set up a regular course for counsellors where they could learn how to decide cases and now have to depend entirely on their own judgments. In some courts, an attempt is made to get community backing for decisions by inviting the headmen to sit with the counsellors and to advise on judgments. The headmen usually refuse. One counsellor complained that if they settled a case one way, the headmen sneered at them for attempting to follow European law, if they took the headmen's decision, then they were questioned and reprimanded by the D.O. My own impression is that the headmen see no reason to take responsibility for court decisions. When one was asked for his opinion on one case, he complained indignantly: "Why ask me about his case? Next time we drink beer together he'll start a fight with me about this."

The people in their turn are not convinced that the court is the final authority. They frequently attempt to by-pass their own authorities and appeal directly to the district officials. Many Tonga take their cases directly to the District Office, only to have them referred back to the local court for hearing. Others first take their cases to the local authorities but meet any adverse decision with a demand that they be sent to the District Officer. Any Tonga may do this, but it is true especially of the new class of wealthy farmers. This is a natural development since these men in any event are more likely to be concerned with problems arising from their new economic interest than they are with matters arising from native custom.

The authority of the local courts is also questioned in other ways. Some men will accept judgment in the court itself and refuse to pay once they have returned home. Others refuse to accept judgment and drag their cases from court to court, hoping always for a favourable verdict. Legally appeal is allowed from a sub-court to the superior court of the Paramount and from thence to the Appeal Court, and at any stage to the District Officer. It is also possible to send an appeal directly from sub-court to the Appeal Court. The Tonga are much more eclectic. Any hierarchy of justice, or jurisdiction, is foreign to their own ungraded social system. They fail to grasp—or at least to respect—that laid down for them by Government. A case may start in the

Paramount's court, pass to a sub-court, then to another sub-court, then to the District Officer, then to another sub-court, then to the Appeal Court, and finally appear in still another sub-court. Or a case may first be brought to a sub-court of a chieftaincy in which neither party to the case is resident and which therefore has no legal jurisdiction in the matter. The result is that in practice court jurisdiction is not on a truly territorial basis, and the personal appeal of the various Native Authorities affect their range of jurisdiction more truly than does their official status within the judicial hierarchy. [1]

This failure of the Tonga—and of their courts—to accept the principle of jurisdiction sets the officials of the different sub-courts in active competition with each other and hinders the development of an *esprit de corps* or of a respect for the judicial status as such. It is not uncommon for the Native Authorities to sneer publicly at the judgments and procedures of another chief's court. There is thus a cleavage of interests between the authorities in the different chieftaincies.

Another cleavage within the ranks of the Native Authorities—which is not bridged by any system of traditional loyalty—is that between clerks and other officials. The clerks since they must be literate represent the younger and more educated element in the community. The chiefs are almost all old men with little or no education ; counsellors are likely to represent a similar group. According to district officials the clerks regard themselves as checks upon the arbitrary powers of chiefs and counsellors and as champions of the educated element. While theoretically they have no power to influence decisions, they may dictate the policy of the court by refusing to write down judgments of which they do not approve. I have heard a clerk inform a chief: "You have given a decision, but now tell me just what charge are we to say was involved?" There may even be open antagonism between chief and clerk. This is reflected in the attitude of the district officials who have more contact with the clerks than with other members of the Authority. Clerks are more often called in for interviews ; since they speak some English, they are often the only members of the Authority with whom district officials can talk. The antagonism of the clerks is therefore passed on to district officials, who regard the chiefs as inefficient, prejudiced and narrow minded.

This judgment is not likely to be reversed at Native Authority Meetings, where the district officials are in a hurry to present a programme and be gone. Attempts by the chiefs to speak are hurriedly interrupted with the statement that there is no real time for discussion. My impression is that a matter is usually put to a decision long before the Authorities have had a chance to understand it. The district is a large one, complicated by European settlers and Indian traders. The district officials are overburdened to a point where even if they desire more intimate contact with the people they cannot find time or energy to make the effort. Almost no touring is done. Moreover this district has had an unusually high turn-over of district officials. Under such conditions mutual confidence on a personal basis is quite impossible. This leaves the Native Authorities in a peculiarly vulnerable position, faced as they are with the contempt of those from whom they derive their authority.

But fully to understand their position, we must turn again to the events of the last forty years. We have seen that European administration was welcomed as a deliverance from Lozi and Ndebele raids. Soon after administration began, however, the area began to be opened up economically by other Europeans. By 1906 the railway had been driven through the heart of Tonga country. In its wake came European traders and farmers. At first farmers were allowed to take up land where they would. Later on a broad belt on either side of the rail was set aside for European occupation. As the Europeans took up land, the Tonga were ordered off. Later on, all those living in the area demarcated for European occupation were ordered off, whether these lands had been

[1] While the District Officer reviews all court cases the records are rarely sufficiently complete to enable him to discover that a particular case has in fact been judged previously in another court and that therefore the new judgement is illegal. Where he is aware of the facts, he would set aside the new judgment and reprimand the court for rehearing the case.

taken up or not. To-day you have the picture of Tonga living on overcrowded reserves, bordering on large tracts of completely unoccupied land with good soil. The Tonga constantly move back on to this land, only to be found and ordered off again. At every meeting of the Authorities the District Officer must lecture the chiefs on this subject and order them to control their people. The Tonga attitude to the administration is now largely coloured by this land policy, and by the existence of a differential price for maize which discriminates against the African. The old people still remember that the administration brought peace ; but this is not an attitude which will outlast this generation, while the bitterness over land may well increase as the reserves become more and more overcrowded.

At one meeting, the agricultural officers presented a new land policy to the Authorities. The response was : " We are very thankful that you have given us this law, but we want to say first that we know that before we were troubled by Lozi and Ndebele. To-day we are all right with many cattle and many children. But now we can say that you Europeans are becoming like our enemies the Lozi and Ndebele. For to-day the Europeans come and when they find the people in their villages they say : 'Now you must go away because I am going to put my farm here'. We can see that the European comes with only a pair of shorts and a shirt, and then when he starts to work his farm he becomes rich. So we say : 'These Europeans are becoming rich on our land. They have taken all of our land for themselves.' So we say : 'How can the Europeans help us now ? Always they trouble us. Now they are becoming like our enemies'." This attitude exists though there are friendly relations between some farmers and some Africans. Some of the big African growers have gotten their start through assistance from European neighbours, and they admit this and are grateful. But this does not prevent a general suspicion towards the motives of the Europeans. And the administration is now identified as the champion of European interests against the African.

The Native Authorities are thus to-day caught between their dependence upon the administration and the necessity to stand against the administration if they are to develop into popular representatives. Moreover, they themselves as Tonga share the sentiments of their people. It is not surprising that though they are expected to be spearheads in a programme of improvement, they find it difficult to feel real enthusiasm for it. In 1947, government wished to start a programme of improved stock by distributing breeding bulls and informed the Authorities that the stock would be given to them. The chiefs said : "We want these bulls, but we don't want you to give them to us. We want to buy them. If you give them to us, soon you will say : 'The government provided the bull so all the cattle in the country belongs to the government'. Then you will take all our cattle." An agricultural officer was ready to build a dam in an area which suffers from yearly water shortages so severe that the cattle must go long distances to water. The chief was eager for the dam and sent out word to his people that men should turn up for work, which was to be paid for, incidentally. Only a few appeared. The officer threatened to put the dam elsewhere unless the people wanted it enough to work for it, and the chief excitedly swore to get the men. A few days later, he not only refused to get the men but said that neither he nor his people wanted this dam or any dam to be built. The agricultural officer said this had happened so often before he knew what was behind it—the people had decided that if the dam was built and the area improved the government would take it for European settlement.

The Authority is thus Janus-faced. To the Administration it must try to prove itself as composed of men with traditional authority and popular support, and thus it must voice the suspicions of the community. To the people it must represent itself as cloaked with the authority of the government. Yet surprisingly enough, one can say that Tonga political organization does work—partly because it rests on the ultimate sanction of administrative backing, partly because the indigenous structure still bears much of the brunt of the regulation of social life. The courts, the one aspect of the new political system which has the most popular acceptance, fill a need left by the falling away of the old sanction of the feud. The political

organization has to work, for in the nature of things the Administration cannot supervise it closely. This does not mean that the administration can be accused of deliberate negligence. It does not need to keep minute check on activities within every village or every court. Channels of complaint are open and the people are aware of them. The Tonga are thus protected, if they wish, against gross invasion of their rights by their own officials or by their fellow Tonga. But it is not a situation likely to heal the breach opened between Tonga and administration by the land policy, nor is it likely to lead to a rapid education of Native Authorities or other Tonga in new political or economic developments. The district officials and the Tonga farmers are attacking the matrilineal principles under-lying the kin group; there are suggestions that the village be replaced by a parish system; the ritual integrity of rain cult communities is attacked by missions and school people. If these succeed and the indigenous structure is overthrown before the new political structure has gained popular support, the Native Authority and the Administration, which attempts to work through it, may have an exceedingly difficult time.

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SOME ASPECTS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AMONG THE FORT JAMESON NGONI

J. A. BARNES

I

HISTORICAL time for the Fort Jameson Ngoni of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia[1] is divided into two major epochs, before and after 1898. On the ninth of February of that year, Chief Mpezeni surrendered to the British.[2] This event marked the end of a period in which the Ngoni had been the conquerors and ushered in the present period in which they fill, or at least think of themselves as filling, the role of conquered. The political system of the tribe is now markedly different from that which flourished in "the time of peace" as the pre-1898 period is called,[3] but it can be understood fully only in terms of the system that then prevailed. I propose therefore first to discuss the old system before going on to deal with modern conditions.

At the head of the state was Mpezeni I, whose father Zwangendaba was founder of a number of Ngoni groups. Zwangendaba left Zululand in about 1821 as the leader of some refugees from Shaka, and fought his way with fair success as far as the south end of Lake Tanganyika. He died there in about 1845 and his kingdom split into a number of segments led by his sons and lieutenants who moved off in various directions. The group led by Mpezeni crossed the Luangwa River to arrive near their present habitat in the vicinity of Fort Jameson in about 1870. They first came into contact with Europeans in 1881,[4] but no attempt was made to coerce them until 1896.[5] The establishment of effective European control dates from 1898. At that time the area within Northern Rhodesia occupied by the tribe was probably about 1,500 square miles, and the population was probably about 70,000. In addition there were some 25,000 people who lived on the eastern side of the kingdom and who, when the border was drawn between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, found themselves included in Nyasaland. The subsequent history of this eastern portion has been different from that of the greater part of the kingdom which formed part of North-Eastern, and later of Northern, Rhodesia.

The principal features of the political organization of the tribe during the period 1821–1898 may be summarized as follows. At the head of the state was the Paramount Chief, who was the final arbiter in all disputes and who planned and directed the military campaigns. He was assisted by his sons and his senior lieutenants. Some of the members of junior branches of the royal lineage acted as lieutenants, but most of the lieutenants did not belong to this lineage. They were trusted followers who had come with the Chief and his father from Zululand. The Paramount had about twenty wives, who were placed in groups of about four or five in separate villages in different parts of the kingdom. These royal villages were thought of as belonging to the senior queen in each village, and were controlled by their sons in association with lieutenants appointed by the Paramount. The villages were ranked in order of antiquity, a new village being formed by a secession of a section of an existing village. The oldest village was regarded as the most important, as having the longest glorious history. The Paramount lived in the most recent royal village, which became the royal capital, and which he regarded as his own

[1] I worked among these people for a year in 1946–47 as an Assistant Anthropologist of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. This paper was drafted in Oxford, and I am grateful for criticism of this paper by the staff of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

[2] POOLE, *Native Tribes of the Eastern Province*, p. 16.

[3] Cf. READ, *Tradition and Prestige among the Ngoni*, pp. 469–70.

[4] LANCASTER, *Tentative Chronology of the Ngoni*, p. 86.

[5] POOLE, pp. 12–13.

village, from which his armies set out on their expeditions to win fresh glories for him and for his people. Thus in one context the youngest village was the most illustrious while in another the oldest village had pride of place. Present day royal villages contain about three hundred inhabitants, but in those days they were certainly very much bigger.[1]

Associated with each royal village were three or four regional governors, each of whom was in charge of a group of lesser villages which had originated by hiving off from the royal village. Each regional governor had his own lieutenants, selected and trusted followers, who assisted the governor in controlling the group. Each village had a headman who himself could nominate his own lieutenants.

During the period of migratory fighting, certain features of the relative spatial distribution of the population of the tribe remained more or less constant. Similar patterns of villages and of clusters of villages were repeated in each area in which the tribe settled. In addition to the movement of the tribe as a whole, villages appear to have shifted from one site to another within the same locality from time to time. The constant elements in the system were the names of the villages and the allegiances of people to their village and of one village to another.

An essential feature of the system was the assimilation into the tribe of the captives who were continually being taken from the Central Bantu people with whom the Ngoni fought, and who were the original occupants of the territory claimed by the Ngoni. All captives taken in war belonged in theory to the Paramount Chief, but in practice they were usually re-allocated to their captors or to important families. The children of captives were brought up in the family of their captor and they were conscripted into the age-set regiments without regard to ethnic origin. It was open to anyone of however humble origin to rise to the highest positions in the state, although, according to Wiese, ex-captives were not allowed to marry women from the aristocratic families.[2] The recognition of achievement was, in fact, to be made a lieutenant, either of one's own captor or of the Paramount Chief himself, and to be given other people of more recent capture to look after. Since the offices of lieutenant were hereditary in the male line, and were ranked in the order of the creation of the posts, the senior positions in the tribe were principally occupied by men of families whose ethnic affiliations were with the South-Eastern Bantu rather than with the Central Bantu, and there was a scale of distinction based on the date at which such-and-such an ethnic group was incorporated into the state. That is to say, a Swazi from the South considered himself superior to a Kalanga from Southern Rhodesia, and a Kalanga superior to an Nsenga from the Petauke District of Northern Rhodesia, while everyone else was superior to the Chewa, who were encountered by the Ngoni in Fort Jameson District and were the last tribe to be incorporated.[3] But this ranking order was latent, and did not form the basis of a system of social organization. It was more a device for taunting a newly-arrived political climber in the middle of a beer party. As we shall see, a man of inferior ethnic origin could hold his own against his ethnic superiors in certain circumstances. Ethnic origin was correlated with political rank, to some extent, but was not a principle of ranking in the political structure.

In addition to those people incorporated into the state by capture, some families, at least in the later stages, came to join the Ngoni of their own volition. These families were allocated to some important person as though they had been his captives and the men were enrolled into the regiment appropriate to their age.

Disputes in the village were taken by the lieutenants to the headman, and thence if necessary to the regional governor and to the lieutenants of the appropriate royal village. Finally the dispute was referred to the assembly of senior lieutenants of the tribe. It was this assembly that deliberated on serious quarrels in the tribe, and which took the initiative in affairs of state. Their decisions could be overruled by the Paramount, although towards the end of the period, he appears to have lost some

[1] Cf. Read, p. 475, footnote 2.
[2] Wiese, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Angoni*, p. 197.
[3] Cf. Read, pp. 457–8.

of his power. Although he wished to place himself under British protection, and made a number of overtures in that direction, he was unable to prevent the tribe from mobilizing against the British under the leadership of his son.

The centralized organization of the state and the importance of the regimental system are well indicated by the procedure in cases of homicide within the tribe. If an ex-captive killed a man of senior family, then other things being equal, the murderer was executed by the state. But if there was a quarrel between two men of different regiments and the junior man was killed, no action was taken against the murderer. If two parties to a fight were of comparable status in terms of regiments and ethnic origin, then the murderer was made to offer cattle to the Paramount who then gave the cattle to the family of the murdered man. In particular, if an ex-captive of a senior regiment killed a member of a junior regiment who was superior to him in terms of ethnic origin, then usually the murderer had merely to offer cattle to the Paramount. Whenever the death penalty was imposed, it was carried out by a very senior lieutenant of the Chief. If the kinsmen of murdered man took the law into their own hands and attacked the murderer, the headman of the village in which they lived was executed, as he was held responsible for inciting the avenging family to take this step, while the kinsmen themselves were made to leave their village and to live in one of the royal villages where they were required to assist the queens.

The focal activity of the tribe was warfare, and it is in terms of its successes in war that the prestige of the tribe was measured. They still claim superiority over neighbouring tribes on account of these past victories. The regiments were formed at intervals of about four or five years, and were organized on a national basis. Mobilization was effected through the chain—commoner village, regional governor, royal village, national capital. For small raids, however, a section of a regiment made up of all the people in it attached to one royal village would be sent out under the instructions of a lieutenant of that village. Women were also organized into parallel regiments.

II

In 1898 the army suffered the most decisive defeat in its history, the heir to the throne was shot, and the Paramount Chief was sent into exile. Very many of the cattle in the country were looted, villages were burnt down, and many of the Chewa captives fled back to their home areas. A number of European seekers after fortune passed through the country behaving in rather high-handed fashion, and in the centre of the kingdom a European township was constructed. It is not surprising that under such conditions the people talk of hiding in the hills and living only in temporary grass shelters. The fact that the capital of the new country of north-eastern Rhodesia was built in the middle of the old kingdom probably led to a quicker imposition of the Pax Britannica than was the case with tribes who lived further from Fort Jameson, but despite the rapid establishment of peaceful rule, there were several factors at work which operated against the preservation of the existing framework of the indigenous society, quite apart from the loss of ultimate sovereignty. Warfare was no longer possible except within the framework of European military institutions. The regimental system degenerated into a dancing society before finally collapsing about 1920. The whole of the kingdom, except for the Nyasaland portion, fell within an area which was regarded by the British Administration as having been ceded to a private company, which alienated tracts of land in the kingdom to European ranchers and farmers. The looting of cattle interfered with the ratification of marriages, and led to a complete change in the familial organization of the tribe. Finally in 1900 the Paramount Chief died, and was succeeded by his grandson, a boy aged ten.

III

Since the conquest of the tribe in 1898, varying degrees of recognition and responsibility have been accorded to members of the tribe by the Administration. Throughout the period the claim of the Paramount Chief and his heirs to the position of titular head of the tribe has never been questioned by either Europeans or by Ngoni, although there has been some dispute as to which groups of people fell within the tribe, and which did not. There have been no serious disputes over succession to the office of Paramount Chief. There have, however, been many changes in the number of subordinate political posts that have been recognized. The political structure of the tribe has changed more slowly than has the paper construct in the files of the Administration, but it is relevant to consider these paper changes, since the structure recognized by the Administration has provided the framework through which the Administration has attempted to exercise its power, and it does reflect the struggle for power within the tribe before the present system became established.

At first the Administration recognized, and paid, individuals known as Divisional Headmen, who were employed as messengers and in an executive capacity. They were responsible for seeing that the orders of the Administration were carried out within their areas. Some of them were upstarts, while others were former lieutenants of the Paramount under the old regime. They were given no judicial authority by the Administration. There were many changes in the holders of these posts and in the numbers of posts recognized at any one time. In 1914 there were six minor chiefs, of whom four were sons of Mpezeni I.[1] In 1929, chiefs were appointed throughout Northern Rhodesia, ten being appointed for the Ngoni. Of these, one was the Paramount Chief, who became a Superior Native Authority, five others were descendents in the male line from Mpezeni I or from his father, two from former regional governors, and one from a lieutenant of Mpezeni's father. These nine minor chiefs, with their councillors, became Subordinate Native Authorities under Mpezeni. With each Native Authority was associated a Native Court. In 1938 the Ngoni Native Treasury was inaugurated in connexion with the Superior Native Authority.

The tribal area is now divided into ten smaller areas, which I have referred to as counties. Mpezeni is the local ruler of one county as well as the Paramount for the whole area. The process of defining the boundaries of these countries is not yet complete, but it is symptomatic that it is the District Officer who is called in to draw the boundaries, and it is the Europeans who are blamed for the quarrels that arise over territory between neighbouring chieftains. Within each county, the majority of the villages owe their allegiance to the chief of the county. They take their cases to his court, they go to him with their complaints, and they regard him as their rightful spokesman to the Paramount and the Administration.

Meanwhile the life of the people has gone on in contrast to, and to a large extent in ignorance of, these paper changes. The symbol of the new system recognized by the people is the brick courthouse. The Native courts are held in brick buildings that everyone can see, they sit regularly once or twice a week, they have paid clerks and police, and the work that they do is largely of a routine character that can be easily understood. There are ten such courts, and each court deals principally with cases emanating from the area in which it is situated.

In the legislative field, this neat pattern does not prevail. We have seen that in the old days, political power was centralized in an assembly that has direct access to the Paramount. Nowadays legislative activity is divided fairly sharply into two kinds, and each kind has its own procedure. On the one hand there are the Native Authority Rules and Orders, regulations having the force of law, made under the powers vested in the Native Authority by the Native Authority Ordinance. There are about sixty such rules and orders that

[1] COXHEAD, *Native Tribes*, pp. 22 and 24.

have been passed by the Ngoni Native Authority. However all these laws are "model" laws, in that their phrasing and content is determined by the Administration, and identical laws have been passed by the other two Superior Native Authorities in Fort Jameson District. The District Officer, at a meeting of the tribe summoned for the purpose by the Paramount Chief on his instruction, proposes that such and such a law should be made. To this the meeting agrees, but it is doubtful to what extent this agreement is based either on a real understanding of the circumstances that make the law desirable or on any enthusiasm for its provisions. It is realized that it is within the power of the Administration to enforce regulations without the consent of the tribe, and this realization does not make for a spirited discussion of the Administration's proposals. The attitude of the Ngoni on such occasions is summarized in the remark made by a lieutenant when an administrative proposal was being discussed at the royal capital. He said : "What can we say ? This letter comes from the people of the Administration and the country belongs to them."

Proposals that are accepted by a meeting of this type are added to the body of Native Authority Rules and Orders, as having been passed by the Native Authority, and should be enforced by the courts. However, as the courts do not always see the reason for the introduction of new laws, they may forget about them. Indeed, on one occasion, when the Administration had drawn the attention of the people to a law of this kind which had been neglected, the matter was discussed at a county meeting as though some new law was being proposed, although in fact it had been passed by the Native Authority, in this sense, only a few years previously. In addition to a lack of interest in this type of legislation, there is a practical difficulty in that most of the laws sponsored by the Administration, which relate mainly to such things as hygiene, agricultural methods, labour migration, and the like, are concerned with public delicts rather than with civil actions, and the courts are not particularly well equipped for enforcing them. The court councillors and assessors spend most of their time settling disputes that are brought to them, and think of themselves and act as an arbitrating rather than as a law-enforcing body.

On the other hand, there are the laws that spring from changing situations within the African community. It is with the tabulation of such laws that the framers of the Native Authority Ordinance would seem to have been concerned, but in practice no such laws are referred to the District Officer for tabulation. There has been no attempt to codify the mass of tribal customary law, and therefore the validity of recent tribal legislation is not called into question by the fact that it is not written down. To refer proposed legislation to the District Officer is to invite him to declare it to be beyond the statutory powers of the Native Authority, as such laws sometimes are, or to suggest amendments. Hence these tribal laws remain unwritten, but are nevertheless relatively rigourously enforced, since they arise in relation to social problems that are regarded as important by the community, and since the judges in the court are the people who are in part responsible for framing the laws. These laws are made at a meeting attended by all the chiefs and their advisers. The Paramount Chief, with his own advisers, has also from time to time made laws himself ; but unless the minor chiefs are brought into the discussion, these operate only within the Paramount's own county. It is significant that, as far as I could discover, little legislative initiative has been taken by any of the minor chiefs. In 1933, indeed, the Administration cancelled its appointment of all the Ngoni Subordinate Native Authorities,[1] but neither this act, nor the re-instatement of these Authorities in 1938,[2] appears to have affected the political life of the tribe in any way at all.

Proposals by the Administration which would alter the relative positions of important persons within the indigenous system tend to meet with more articulate discussion among the tribe. A recent proposal to abolish two of the offices of minor chief was successfully resisted at a number of meetings held by the Administration, while a proposal to build an additional courthouse was opposed on the ground that it would be used as

[1] *Government Notice* 38 of 1933.

[2] *Government Notice* 62 of 1938.

a means whereby a paternal uncle of the Paramount would get himself recognized as a new minor chief.

We have seen that in the old days political allegiance was centred in the big royal villages. To-day these villages act only as symbolic foci for patriotic sentiment, and for assessing in traditional terms the relative status of the different minor chiefs who are now associated with them. In the old days, they say, there were no boundaries, but under European influence, the concept of territorial allegiance has emerged. Instead of several villages belonging to a certain lieutenant or regional governor by reason of their common origin in an old-established village, the situation nowadays is that a chief has control of a certain area, and that the villages in that area, unless they can show cause to the contrary, belong to that chief. Quite apart from the territorial bias of the Adminsistration, there were other factors at work which tended to break down the old system of allegiance based on royal villages. In the old days, although there was no definite area of land associated with each unit of administration, the villages under one head tended to be near one another, and in the same way the majority of the dependent villages near any one royal village tended to belong to that royal village. But the period of fighting in 1898 led to a dispersal of the population and many small settlements sprang up without reference to the established pattern of village allegiance. The concessionaire company alienated tracts of land to Europeans who in the early years often tolerated Africans living on their land,[1] sometimes imposing conditions in return for such toleration. With the change in about 1911 from ranching to tobacco growing as the principal mode of livelihood for Europeans, more pressure was exercised by the concessionaire company on the Administration, which was in those days the British South Africa Company, to clear the African population from areas that were destined for alienation in the future, and to confine the native population within reserves. This pressure was to some extent resisted by the Administration, and as a result of the struggle between the concessionaire company, the British South Africa Company, and the Colonial Office, it was not until 1928 that the reserves were finally established by Order-in-Council. In the interim there had been a number of forced moves of villages at the behest of the Administration, from areas earmarked for alienation to those intended for reserve, and sometimes back again as plans were changed. Within the reserve area, villages were shifted from one region to another in attempts to relieve congestion. In 1940 the density of population was said to be of the order of 90 to the square mile in the congested areas, with an average of 70 overall for the Ngoni Reserve, in which most of the Ngoni live.[2] In 1939 the tribal population was about 58,000. Since then the density has decreased due to a certain amount of resettlement of the population in areas bought for this purpose by the Crown from the concessionaire company.[3]

With this re-arrangement of villages, the organization of regional governors broke down. Some governors found themselves cut off from their royal village, while in other cases the villages that they controlled moved away to other areas. To-day the Administration classes all regional governors, first lieutenants of royal villages and headmen of commoners' villages as simply headmen, and has tended to treat them all as having the same powers. The power exercised by a headman at the present time does still depend to some extent on how important his post was under the old system, but informants state that in the old days even the headmen of commoners' villages were more powerful than are their modern counterparts. The major transfer of responsibility has been that of hearing cases arising out of minor disputes, which tend nowadays to be taken to the Court however trivial they may be. In the old days they would have been dealt with by the headman. Even responsibility for keeping the village clean has now been largely taken over from the headman by the Native Authority inspector of villages.

Despite all this, the old order might have reasserted itself in terms of a new pattern of alle-

[1] Cf. Col. 145, pp. 57–8.
[2] TRAPNELL, *Ecological Survey*, p. 72.
[3] Cf. *Crown Colonist*, 15, 160, March 1945, p. 163, and FRASER, *Land Settlement*, p. 48.

giance on traditional lines had not the dynamic process that lay at the root of the old system also been disrupted. The reward for loyal service was, in the old days, to be given followers and to be recognized as a lieutenant of one's superior, with the specific task of organizing a new village. The system of villages was, by and large, an expanding one, although from time to time villages did disappear or were abolished by the state, as we have seen in connexion with murder cases. After 1898, this proliferation of new villages became much more difficult. The tribe could no longer increase its numbers at the expense of its neighbours, nor could it increase its lands. There were no new areas to be colonized, and there were indeed few occasions when there was the need to reward successful followers, now that warfare had ceased. European farms completely encircled the national capital, cutting it off from the rest of the kingdom. Immediately prior to 1898 the general direction of movement of the tribe had been eastward. But five miles to the east of the national capital was the Nyasaland border, and the British South Africa Company did not wish to see its workers and tax-payers disappear across the border into the Protectorate. Such new villages as were formed were often under the leadership of ex-captives who did not wish to return to their original tribal area but who wanted to make a village of their own within the Ngoni kingdom yet not under the immediate domestic surveillance of their former Ngoni headmen. This was characteristic of those Chewa who were captured shortly before 1898 and had not had long enough time to become assimilated into the Ngoni organization. Even today there are villages quite close to the national capital where the Chewa language is still used.

In the majority of instances the villages have histories which go back to a period when they formed part of the capital village of the county, that is, the oldest royal village in the county. But there are in every county a few villages that claim to belong to some other Ngoni chief. These claims are made on the basis of having broken out from the capital village of the other chief. Such villages are in general those which have made a move into another county comparatively recently, say in the last thirty years. The extent to which they have managed to keep alive their connexion with the county whence they came depends on distance, personal inclination, and the relative seniority of the two chiefs concerned. Attempts are now being made by the Administration to get villages to move back into their rightful counties or else to acknowledge their allegiance to the local chief. These attempts have the support of the chiefs who receive complaints from their people that there is a shortage of land, but are in the main opposed by the people who would have to move. To some extent their choice in the matter is restricted by the Administration, which is concerned to alleviate congestion and which dissuades villages from, or do not give them the opportunity to, move to a county more densely populated than the one they are in.

The ten chiefs are assisted by people usually referred to as councillors. Strictly speaking, this word should be applied only to certain of the chiefs' advisers who are recognized as councillors by the Administration and paid as such by the Native Treasury. Councillors, in this restricted sense, are attached in theory to the Native Authority rather than to the Native Court, while in the Native Court there are officials called assessors, whose pay is not so high as that of councillors. This distinction between councillors and assessors is lost sight of, however, and both types of paid official sit regularly in Court as judges. Each Native Authority has two councillors and some have one or two assessors attached to their associated Native Court. Each Native Court has a clerk and each Native Authority has at least two policemen. The extent to which the clerk and police also act as judges varies from Court to Court.

Political activity at the policy making level, particularly within the framework of European domination, is not a full time job, and hence the closest advisers of the chief are often not these paid officials but other important people who support themselves by subsistence cultivation. To some extent the paid positions on the Native Treasury pay roll do go to the friends of the chief, but some of the more senior advisers do not wish to be burdened with regular attendance at the Court, and may get a son appointed as councillor

or assessor. In order to determine who are the actual advisers of the chief, who are truly his councillors, we must examine the concept of *induna*, which I have translated as lieutenant. The post of lieutenant was one that could be created by anyone who was a person of importance, and was that of a recognized responsible subordinate. Lieutenants did not, and do not, form a social class ; rather the term is an indication of relative social status. A man is never described as just a lieutenant, but as the lieutenant of someone else. An important person may have first, second and third lieutenants, or even more, their seniority being determined by the order in which he created the posts. In the old days persons were recognized as lieutenants by assigning to them positions of responsibility within the gift of their principal. I have no record of any new posts of lieutenant of the Paramount being created after 1898, but this is not surprising because the need for them has largely disappeared. Since that date the army has gone, the royal entourage has dwindled in size there are no new areas to be settled, and sundry new tasks, such as checking school attendance, have been undertaken by functionaries of the Native Authority. In any case it would be a comparatively easy matter for a modern lieutenant to shift the origin of his post back from Mpezeni II to the reign of Mpezeni I, who died in 1900.

There is a tradition that every chief has three lieutenants, but some chiefs do not admit to having as many as that. The office of lieutenant tends to descend in the male line from father to senior son, and the relative rank of the three offices associated with one chief does not usually alter. The Paramount Chief in the old days created a large number of such posts, and the holders of the senior of these posts act as advisers of the minor chiefs in whose county they now happen to be living. Although those lieutenants of the chief whose posts go back to the father of Mpezeni I regard themselves as superior to those whose posts are of more recent creation, the former are not always the more powerful now. Due to the expanding nature of the state before 1898, the important lieutenants of Mpezeni's father are now for the most part living some distance away from the Paramount and do not take an immediate interest in the day to day affairs of the capital.

There are other lieutenants who are associated with certain royal villages rather than with the chief himself. We have already mentioned those royal villages which were founded by Mpezeni I and his brothers and sons, in which they placed groups of their wives, and which are now the capital villages of the different counties. This process of founding new royal villages has been continued by successive generations of the royal lineage, so that at the present time no chief lives in a capital village, but in a village that has broken out, either directly or at one or more removes, from a capital village. For example, in the case of Mpezeni himself, we find that in about 1870 the eldest son of Mpezeni I broke out of his natal village to found two new ones of his own. In one of these Mpezeni II was born, and he, in about 1925, broke out of this village to found the one in which Mpezeni III was brought up and is still living. I shall refer to these royal villages that are not capitals of counties as *private* villages. In all royal villages, whether capital or private, there are no headmen, except in the sense in which the Administration uses this term. Royal villages are in charge of lieutenants, who are appointed by the chief, but these lieutenants are referred to not as lieutenants of the chief, but as the lieutenants of such and such royal villages. They are appointed by the chief with the specific task of looking after the village and of being responsible for the well-being of the royal wives. Such men are naturally carefully chosen by the chief creating the post, and in the most recently founded private villages, in which the chiefs themselves live, the lieutenants see their chiefs every day and act as close advisers.

All people of importance, including chiefs, had, and to a lesser extent, still have, a deputy in addition to their lieutenants. There are two essential differences between these two types of post, first, a deputy is always a patrilineal kinsman of his principal, while a lieutenant is rarely this and, second, a man may have any number of lieutenants, but only one deputy. The post of deputy is not necessarily an hereditary one, but each new

holder of the principal office selects his own new deputy. The function of the deputy is to act for his principal while the latter is away on a journey. The deputy of the Paramount Chief is usually a half-brother.

A chief has then in his entourage a number of senior lieutenants, whose posts were created by his ancestors, and his own deputy. He has also the lieutenants of his capital village and of his private villages. It is these men who may be said to constitute the Ngoni cabinet rather than the paid officials. It is they, in particular, who attempt to assess guilt in the frequent matrimonial quarrels of the chiefs and in other quarrels in the royal family. It is they who behind closed doors abuse the Paramount for behaving in a way inappropriate to a great chief, or for being too harsh with his subjects. And it is they who at tribal meetings abuse the rising generation for not respecting the chief and for forgetting that they are true Ngoni. To some extent these people are directly subsidized by the chief out of his own salary which he draws from the Native Treasury, but the main rewards of political office appear to be the exercise of power, the high prestige that comes from being known as a confidant of the chief, and the exercise of a major claim on the hospitality of the chief. This pattern is seen in its most developed form at the court of Mpezeni himself, but is repeated on a more modest scale with the nine minor chiefs.

IV

So far we have discussed the actors in the political field. We must now consider their acts. What is the content of political activity? In some ways this seems extremely trivial. Perhaps the reason for this lies in the essentially symbiotic relationship in which the tribe lives with the European and Asiatic communities. It is only over a small area of the total field of social interaction that any attempt at political control is practicable. For the rest the political machinery can operate only as a receiving channel for complaints that can be passed on to the Administration or as an administrative machine for implementing its orders. If we examine the agenda of a tribal meeting, we find this sort of thing:

1. Recruits wanted for Northern Rhodesia Regiment.
2. Proposed 1*s*. tax for building a new school dormitory.
3. Appointment of inspectors of schools and of villages.
4. Institution of beer licences.
5. Registration of births and deaths.
6. Labour required for building the chief's new house.

Of these items, it is only the last that is raised on the initiative of members of the tribe. The first five items are all sponsored by the Administration. This state of affairs suggests a rural district council meeting in a centralized state rather than an independent parliament, and perhaps the former is the closer analogy. In these circumstances it is not surprising that many people who could attend do not in fact do so.

Tribal meetings other than those at which the District Officer is present, take place on Sundays, and they are announced to the tribe by special messengers who are appointed by the chief for this particular work. It is their task to inform all the village headmen in their county that there will be a meeting on the following Sunday at the capital. Sometimes the messengers are lazy and turn back before they complete the circuit of the county. Since it is the people from the most distant villages that are least likely to attend, this is not so serious as it might seem. The messengers do not tell the headmen what will be discussed at the meeting. On Sunday morning people gather under a large tree outside the capital, while the more important people go on into the village to greet the chief and to drink with him if beer has been brewed. They may find that the meeting has been cancelled, in which case there is nothing to do but to walk home again and come back on the

following Sunday. If the meeting is to take place, by about noon, when most people will have arrived, those who have been drinking with the chief come out of the village and join the gathering under the tree. Children carry the royal table and chairs to the meeting place and after everyone has settled themselves, the chief himself appears. Prayers are said by the local preacher, and the business of the meeting begins.

In the discussion, it is the advisers of the chief who have most to say. The topics are introduced by the clerk, who reads the letter from the Administration raising the matter, and then anyone may speak. The chief's friends may have seen the letter beforehand and have come to the meeting with their views clear. One or two younger men speak, but in the main it is the headmen who speak rather than the supporters who have accompanied them to the meeting, and it is the close advisers of the chief who draw the most grunts of approval from the assembly. The chief himself says very little, and then only through the mouth of his clerk, who repeats his words for him. No vote is taken, but everyone knows what decision has been reached, and if there is any dissatisfaction with the decision, the dissentients do not hesitate to express their disapproval.

Meetings at which the District Officer is present take place on weekdays, and the whole atmosphere is different. Unlike the chief, he does not drink with the people beforehand, nor does he open his meetings with prayer. The Administration recognizes the Native Authority. It does not, and in the nature of things, it cannot recognize the complicated and variable indigenous political structure. In order to administer consistently and impartially it must work through the Native Authority, and every effort is made to consolidate and enlarge the basis of popular support for the Native Authority. At tribal meetings, therefore, the District Officer looks for support for his proposals, not only from the principal traditional advisers of the chiefs but also from the chiefs and paid councillors who have a definite political reponsibility in the Native Authority system. The people are aware of this, and to some extent see those who hold positions in the Native Authority as buffers between themselves and the Administration.

A theme that recurs from time to time throughout the Administration reports of the last fifty years, and one still heard to-day is the inefficiency of the indigenous system, or at least of the holders of office within it. The major factor giving rise to this is probably the divergence of interests between the Administration and the tribe, but it should also be remembered that under the changed conditions the system has become much more rigid than it was. First in regard to succession, the Administration has prevented fighting between rival factions, and has appeared to act in the belief that in any succession there is one man who is the legitimate heir, and that all other claimants are impostors, trying to play on the ignorance on the part of the Administration of what is truly tribal custom. Although Ngoni history is very short and contains only one instance of the death of the Paramount prior to European conquest, the fact that on that occasion the tribe split into four or more segments which fought with each other, coupled with the comparative material from the South-Eastern Bantu, leads us to presume that had it not been for the presence of the Administration there would have been fighting for the throne in 1900 when Mpezeni I died. Certainly fighting was feared in 1942 when Mpezeni II died. As it was, in the first instance a rival claimant tried to get himself recognized by the Administration as the heir of Mpezeni's father, presumably with the intention of declaring himself a more powerful chief than the young boy recognized as Paramount by the Administration. Throughout his reign, Mpezeni II was opposed by his elder half-brother by the same father, while the succession of Mpezeni III was opposed by one of his father's paternal cousins who wanted the new Paramount to stay on at school while he acted as Regent. Under British rule these struggles cannot be settled by force and can be carried on only by sorcery or by attempts to win the support of the Administration. On the other hand, those who are in authority realize that provided they do not flagrantly oppose the Administration their positions are secure. The old system provided excellent opportunities for the ambitious and unscrupulous to advance them-

selves. This was in contrast with the state of affairs among the matrilineal neighbours of the Ngoni, but the position is now largely reversed. Before the establishment of British rule, the Chewa and other tribes were harried by Ngoni and by slave raiders. For a while these were resisted by making stockaded villages, but later the stockades were broken up and people were forced to live in very small groups in inaccessible places. Under these conditions, positions of power and responsibility in a tribal structure did not exist. The Administration has restored old chieftainships and, in effect, created new ones or at least increased the importance of previously insignificant ones. The increase of political scale has led to increased social mobility, and men have not been held back because they did not belong to the right families to the same extent as has been the case with the Ngoni since 1898.

These considerations are applicable not only at the level of the chiefs, but also lower down in the hierarchy. The high incidence of labour migration is due mainly to economic causes, but it is also influenced by political factors as well as in turn having an effect on political relationships. The control of important positions in the state by the holders of hereditary offices has led to a sense of lack of opportunity for political advancement among some of the younger members of the tribe and members of junior houses, which leads them to talk of settling permanently in the South. All the Paramount Chief's half-brothers, including his deputy, live in Southern Rhodesia or in the Union. The prizes that the Native Authority has to offer are not glittering enough to compare with those offered by the army in the old days. Councillors are paid £2. a month, assessors £1. 10*s.* 0*d.*, and policemen £1. 5*s.* 0*d.* Although these wages are higher than those paid locally for unskilled labour on the tobacco farms, they are hardly high enough to attract the more ambitious when Southern Rhodesia is only a day's walk and a free lorry ride away.

In summary we may say that in the pre-1898 period the Ngoni political system was characterized by a high degree of concentration of power at the centre, and by a high degree of social mobility based on military achievement counterposed against a system of inherited status within which that of the Paramount Chief was the highest. Political allegiance was personal, linking every man through a number of intermediaries to the Paramount himself. The system was able to maintain itself through continued success in warfare, which in turn was assured by the clinging of their opponents to forms of social organization and military equipment that were less effective than those of the Ngoni. Military defeat led to the breakdown of this system. Effective power now lies with the Administration, and access to that power is through the chiefs. Social mobility has decreased and the basis of political allegiance is shifting from the personal to the territorial.

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THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE IZIƁONGO OF THE ZULU MILITARY AGE[1]

C. L. S. NYEMBEZI

PART I

INTRODUCTION

IZIƁONGO or praises are a feature of the South Eastern Bantu. In Sotho they are called *lithoko*. These praises were recited in praise of kings, their *indunas* and all others who for some reason or other gained public recognition and distinction. The warrior who went to the battlefield and by his valorous deeds drew attention to himself did not fail to get himself praises or add to those he already possessed. A woman of rare ability like Mnkaƀayi could not fail to ignite the poetic spark in the Zulu bard which would result in a spontaneous recital of her accomplishments. She was hailed as

USoqili
Iqili lakwa Hotshoza
Elidl' umuntu limyenga ngendaƀa.
(The cunning one
The cunning one of Hotshoza
Who destroys one deceiving him with gossip.)

"She was the sister of Shaka's father, Senzangakhona, and is a historical figure in Zululand. The twin daughter of Jama kaNdaƀa, she was responsible for the coronation of Shaka and Dingane. While Senzangakhona her brother was still young, Mnkaƀayi ruled over the Zulu clan, and after the death of Senzangakhona before Shaka became king, Mnkaƀayi again ruled over the clan. When Shaka arrived on the scene, it is Mnkaƀayi who declared him the rightful heir to the throne and crowned him, as she did Dingane later in 1828. She had her own kraals at Mahlaƀathini, and among the aƀaQulusi at Vryheid."[2]

There were not many women, however, who were like Mnkaƀayi and in many cases where women were praised it was for their physical appearance. Beauty has that same effect of exciting admiration as do brave deeds. Thus

Mhlokoshane omuhle nomlomo wakhe,
Mtham' olwangazi, mtham' olwanyembezi.
(White lily beautiful even thy mouth
Mouthful of blood, mouthful of tears.)[3]

Generally women were praised when they married. Perhaps that is why so much was made of their beauty to impress their in-laws.

It was not uncommon in Zulu society to give praises to a child newly born. Such praises formed part of what the Zulus call *ukuteketisa*.

Praises, however, were not confined to human beings. One of the primary interests of the Bantu is cattle, although the impact of European economy is changing that outlook. Cattle played a very important part in their ceremonials. When there was drought, cattle were slaughtered in propitiation of the spirits; when a man wanted to take a woman to wife he had to pay cattle which served as an important factor to legalize the union to absolve the children from being born under a shadow of illegitimacy.[4] Stuart in *uVusezakithi* records the praises of a bull named uSicocosendodə which run as follows:

USicocosendoda
Siyathungwa siyabidlika
UMaƀal' azigodi
UNomalevu kaNomalekete

[1] Dissertation presented for part of the B.A. Honours examination at the University of the Witwatersrand.
[2] VILAKAZI, *Oral and Written Literature in Nguni*, p. 40.
[3] VILAKAZI, *Oral and Written Literature in Nguni*, p. 53.
[4] It is not surprising therefore that praises were also composed for cattle.

Izinguƀo[1] *evume zombili*
Kuvum' engâphansi nengaphezulu
UNyoka zakhwel' emthini zingenanyawo.[2]
(Headring of a man
As it is sewn it crumbles,
Spots that are hollows
Nomalevu of Nomalekete
Clothes which both show well
The one below and the one above
Snakes that climbed trees without limbs.)

Cattle, however, were not the only animals which were praised. Horses had praises, rams and dogs. Stuart records the following praises of a dog uMangenduna :

Umfaz' onamaqimba njengendoda
UNdoda nga uyaphana
Wesaƀ' umfaz' ukuhwaqa
Umfaz' oka hwaqelane nendoda
USandla saphath' eƀuƀini
Ngoƀa saphath' embilapheni.[3]
(A woman that has frowns like a man
Man, you would give freely
You fear the frowns of the woman
A woman that frowns upon her husband
Hand that touched in an evil place
For it touched the groin.)

Some people may think it bad form to praise oneself. They always prefer to let the next man sing their praises. That type of modesty was unknown among the Zulus. A warrior could stand up and sing his own praises and all that the listeners would do would be to urge him on by cheering him up. It always became a warrior to praise himself. Dr. Vilakazi gives a good picture of this in his *Nje-Nempela* where Chakijana ka-Gezindaka praises himself. As this is a novel the incident need not be historically accurate, but a very realistic picture is portrayed. After narrating his exploits, Chakijana sums up by saying :

"Yimina-ke lowo; ofuna mina, naku lapha ngikhona ngilapha mina:
'Hlehla nyova njengomthakathi,
Intshelezan' eshelel' amasosha kwaBobo,
Imvungamvunga edin' amajaji,
UMgqum' undawonye nonongqayi'."[4]
("That is myself ; he who wants me, here I am ; I am here, I :
'Backward mover like a wizard,
The slippery one on whom the soldiers slipped at Bobo,
The greatly talked of, who has tired the judges,
The one who moves together with constables'.")

Here, however, we are mainly concerned with the praises of kings of the Zulu military age. As has been pointed out above, praises were really a record of the valorous deeds of great men. The praises were a reservoir for historical events which took place from time to time. It must not be forgetten that the Bantu had no system of recording on paper, etc., the events as they came to pass, so that the handing down of history from generation to generation had of necessity to be oral. To keep these events fresh in the minds of the praiser himself and the people, in all ceremonial occasions the custom was to praise the king, starting with his grandfathers who were no more. He would recite the praises one after the other until he ultimately ended with those of the reigning sovereign. Not only the praises but proverbs, riddles, folk-lore, etc., have had to be handed down in the same way, i.e. orally.

The kings that will be discussed here are Shaka, Dingane, Mpande and Cetshwayo. Objection might be raised perhaps at the inclusion of Cetshwayo under the Zulu military age. I choose to include him however, because, although he may represent the end of the Zulus as a military power, there can be no doubt that before 1879 the Zulus were a strong power.

[1] Colours. [2] STUART, J., *UVusezakithi*, p. 74. [3] STUART, J., *UVusezakithi*, p. 74. [4] VILAKAZI, *Nje-Nempela*, p. 11.

I

IZIƁONGO ZIKA SHAKA

We shall now consider the praises of these kings one by one. From the very beginning I must point out that I have not been able to get the explanations of some allusions to place names and people. Further research may perhaps bring these to light.

When we examine the praises of Shaka we find that they give a picture of him from his youth, nay, before his birth, up to the time when many tribes lay prostrate before him.

Birth and early life

Shaka was the son of Senzangakhona. Mbengi one day sent a man to King Jama to pay his respects to him. On the way this man espied a herd of cattle which proved to be King Jama's cattle. Among the herdboys was Senzangakhona, Jama's son. This man stopped for a while with the herdboys and was greatly impressed by Senzangakhona. When the man returned home he had a long story to tell. One of the listeners was Nandi, daughter of Bebe, king of the Langeni clan. She was greatly impressed by this account and she made up her mind to go and see Senzangakhona. She went there in the company of other girls. They found Senzangakhona and the other boys out in the veld. The girls spent a few days in the veld with the herd boys and then went back home. The boys also went back to their home. Later it transpired that Nandi was not feeling well. She was in a family way but the story given out was that she was suffering from *ishaka* or blood poisoning. When the child was born he was given the name Shaka as the mother had been reported to be suffering from this disease when actually she had been pregnant. In the line

USishaka kasishayeki

there is obviously a play of words, a play on that important feature of the language, alliteration.

Another line which takes us to his early childhood is

UNodum' ehlezi kaMenzi.
(Thou who achieves fame at home, son of Menzi.)

This does not merely cover one phase of his life but many phases. Nandi gave birth to Shaka but she continued to stay with her people. The news of Shaka's birth was kept a close secret to everybody. Later, however, Mudli broke the news to Mntaniya, Senzagakhona's mother. Mudli was sent secretly by Mntaniya to find out the progress of the child, and when one day he reported that the child was quite a lad, she persuaded him to bring the child to her secretly. Mudli contrived to do this and for a few days the old woman secretly admired her grandson. Rumour, however, soon circulated that Mntaniya was keeping something in her hut. When Senzangakhona heard this he ordered that she be killed with her *impaka*. Shaka, however, had been spirited away to the Langeni meanwhile and when the army arrived to do its bidding no *impaka* was found. This led to the complete destruction of the rumour mongers who dared to accuse falsely the royal mother.

This episode marked the beginning of Shaka's many flights for his life, his father bent on having him killed. This also marked the beginning of those many incidents which hardened Shaka's heart and led to so much bloodshed later. Hearing that Shaka was not dead messengers were sent out by Senzangakhona to see if they could find him at Langeni. The Langeni people sensing the wind, Shaka, through the agency of his grandmother was taken by Mƃikwana to the Qwaƃes to hide there. But here also, life was not very pleasant for Shaka. Trouble began at play when he, with Phakathwayo, Khondlo's son, played at mock fight with clay bulls. Phakathwayo's bull was beaten and this made him and the people in general angry with Shaka who was after all "*intungwana, intwana yokutholwa*". It was the recurrence of what happened to him when he was staying with Mbe-

ngi, the Langeni chief, that made him decide to move on to Dingiswayo who ruled over the Mthethwa tribe.

This is where Shaka grew to manhood. This is where he learnt the art of fighting. This is where he began to distinguish himself in warfare. He soon became Dingiswayo's great favourite, for that was an age which attached great importance to deeds of valour in warfare. Although Shaka thought he had run away far beyond the boundaries of his home and those who were after his blood, news leaked out to his father Senzangakhona that Shaka was still alive. Senzangakhona heard of his exploits. Shaka had become famous, talked of far beyond the Mthethwa confines. He had been talked of whilst at Langeni, he was talked of with the Qwaße, he was the talk of the day with the Mthethwa. Hence the praises

UNodum' ehlezi kaMenzi,
(Thou who achieves fame seated (at home) son of Menzi.)

This tribulation was in itself a means of advertising him. He had not consciously or deliberately set forth to make himself the talk of the day but it had come of its own.

These praises also give us a good picture of the type of man that Shaka was. As would be expected, they merely tell of his prowess in warfare. Shaka was fortunate to see the organization of Dingiswayo's armies and this gave him an idea of how to organize his. His introduction of the short assegai[1] was one of the revolutionary moves in army organization. He succeeded in instilling into the hearts of his men much of his bravery, and, though a young man, he soon exhibited that he was an unusually sharp "hoe"

Ilembe eleqa amanye amalembe.
(The hoe that surpasseth other hoes.)

He completely outclassed any of the contemporary kings and even the older ones like Phakathwayo who were regarded as powerful began to fear him though they kept up appearances of unconcern.

[1] It was not Dingiswayo who initiated this mode of fighting as Soga suggests.

The terror he struck in the hearts of the people by the fierceness and ruthlessness of his attack is well depicted in the praises.

Ozulu lizayo khwezan' aßantwana
Ngaßadala ßodwa aßazozißalekela.
(The threatening storm, take the children to shelter.
It is the old people only who will run away for themselves.)

These praises have a double significance. Firstly they refer to the campaigns on which he set out to conquer the neighbouring tribes. His onrush is likened unto the threatening storm and even unto a devastating wild beast.

USilwane helele emzini yaßantu.
(Beware, the wild beast in the kraals.)

Again these lines refer to his return from Mthethwa. Although Shaka had found a hiding place with Dingiswayo, he had not forgotten where he came from and he kept a close watch on the doings in his father's kraal. When news reached him that his father had died[2] he immediately took steps to remove the most dangerous rival Sigujana and a few others of the sons of Senzangakhona. Sigujana's case had already been prejudiced by Bibi his mother, who treated Shaka in a very cold manner when Senzangakhona had gone to visit Dingiswayo. It was taken for granted that Sigujana would succeed his father Senzangakhona. The children referred to in the praises are thus Shaka's own half-brothers who had to be protected from the imminent storm.

Shaka had never lived for any length of time in his father's kraal except when he was hidden there by his grand mother. To all in Zululand, it seems as if there had never been any fear that Shaka might one day become king.

Uteku lwaßafazi ßakwaNomgaßi[3]
SSetekula ßehlez' emlovini
SSeth' uShaka kakußusa kakuße nkosi
Kanti ilapho ezakunethezeka.
(The gossip of the women at Nomgaßi

[3] Some maintain that Shaka was already at home when Senzangakhona died.
[2] Esiklebeni-Langazana's kraal.

Gossiping sitting under shady bowers
Saying Shaka will not reign, he will be no king
Whereas he was still to prosper.)

This gossip however was proved false and Shaka became a great man.

His quick movement from place to place as he went conquering is aptly portrayed in

Umlilo wothathe[1] *ubuhanguhangu.*
(The wild fire of dried grass consuming fiercely.)

This conflagration became so extensive that a song was made which described its havoc.

Waqedaqed' izizwe
Uyakuhlaselaphi na?
He! Uyakuhlaselaphi na?
Wahlul' amakhosi
Uyakuhlaselaphi na?
Waqedaqed' izizwe
Uyakuhlaselaphi na?
He! he! he! uyakuhlaselaphi na?
(The nations he hath all destroyed
Whither shall he now attack?
He! whither shall he now attack?
He defeated kings
Whither shall he now attack?
The nations he hath all destroyed
Whither shall he now attack?
He! he! he! Whither shall he now attack?

Let us now consider the specific exploits which engendered a song such as the one just quoted.

Shaka and Zwide

In Shaka's praises, quite a lot appears about Zwide. When Dingiswayo returned from his wanderings he began the task of building up the Mthethwa clan. In so doing he incorporated some of the smaller tribes. There was living at this time another very strong king Zwide who was king of the Ndwandwe tribe. Dingiswayo was related to Zwide by marriage as he had married Zwide's sister. Because of the killing of Malusi, Zwide's half-brother, by Zwide, relations between Dingiswayo and Zwide became strained. Their misunderstanding finally ended in a pitched battle in which Dingiswayo lost. He had accompanied his army and he was captured by Zwide's men. Although Zwide might have shown mercy to Dingiswayo, his mother Ntombazi was insistent that Dingiswayo should die. It is interesting to note that Fynn accuses Shaka of betraying Dingiswayo to his foe Zwide. He says: "The experience he had gained during his attendance on Dingiswayo and his own ambitious views, could not find scope for action so long as his protector was alive. Chaka took the earliest opportunity of ridding himself of such an obstacle. Dingiswayo having gone to attack the chief Zuedi, Chaka accompanied him, commanding one division of the force, and knowing the spot where Dingiswayo would post himself to observe the battle secretly communicated this knowledge to the enemy who sent a force and took him prisoner."[2]

This, however, is not accurate. When Dingiswayo embarked on the Zwide campaign Shaka had gone to take his father's place. A message was despatched to him by Dingiswayo to meet him at the appointed place on a certain day. Shaka was delayed on the way and when he arrived Dingiswayo had been killed. Writing of this same episode episode Bryant[3] says: "It was a very short while, therefore, before Zwide had heard all about Dondaʼs intrigue—how he had kept the enemy, Chaka, *au courant* with events proceeding in Ndwandweland, and so led him to return home instead of walking, like Dingiswayo, straight into Zwide's lair."

Zwide's act of killing Dingiswayo made Shaka furious and he decided to avenge the blood of Dingiswayo his great benefactor.

But the defeat of Zwide was not only necessary to avenge the blood of Dingiswayo. Shaka had made up his mind that Zululand was not big enough for many kings, and that it was desirable that all tribes pay homage to him. But the Zulus were not powerful. Under Senzangakhona they had been very weak. Thus Senzangakhona had to pay homage to Zwide. As a mark of friendship Senzangakhona had promised to send Zwide three maidens,[4] but his untimely death made it impossible for Senzangakhona to fulfill his promise.

[1] Tall dry grass.
[2] BIRD, *Annals of Natal*, Vol. I, p. 65.
[3] BRYANT, A. T., *Olden Times in Zululand.*
[4] BRYANT, A. T., *Olden Times in Zululand*, p. 73.

Zwide now sent to Shaka demanding that these girls be sent over to him. Shaka was not prepared to do this. When Zwide heard of Shaka's refusal he was greatly angered and he decided that he would teach this young upstart a lesson. Thus there was more than one factor which kindled the feud between these two rival kings, which feud was to earn Shaka his praises. But the defeat of Zwide was not an easy proposition. Shaka was quite aware of the fact that Zwide had a superior army, whilst Zwide on the other hand greatly underrated Shaka's army. Shaka was not too eager for a fight just then, but Zwide forced Shaka's hand by attacking him. The two armies met on the Gqokli Hill. Shaka had reorganized his army, and instead of carrying a bundle of long hafted spears, each man carried a short spear for stabbing at close quarters. Although Zwide could have won the day with comparative ease, his men were confused by this new method of warfare and the day ended with both parties sharing the laurels. To Zwide, however, although not defeated, the encounter had been very costly for many of his sons remained on the battlefield—Nomhlanjana his heir, Mphepha, Dayingu6o, Nombengula, Sikilolo6a.

Izulu elidum' emuva komuz' ekuqo6ekeni [1]
Lazithath' izihlangu zamaphela [2]
Wadl' uNomhlanjana ezalwa nguZwide emapheleni
Wadl' uMphepha ezalwa nguZwide emaPheleni.
Wadl' uDayingu6o ezalwa nguZwid' emaPheleni.
Wadl' uSiklolo6a ezalwa nguZwid' emaPheleni.
(The storm whih broke behind the kraal at Ekuqo6ekeni
And took the weapons of the amaPhela
He devoured Nomhlanjana born of Zwide in the amaPhela
He devoured Mphepha born of Zwide, in the amaPhela
He devoured Dayingu6o born of Zwide, in the amaPhela
He devoured Nombengula born of Zwide, in the amaPhela
He devoured Sikilolo6a born of Zwide, in the amaPhela.)

[1] Zwide's kraal.

Zwide was greatly perturbed at his failure to subdue Shaka and it soon became apparent that he would know no peace of mind until Shaka had been beaten. Shaka on his part, perhaps fearing that Zwide might make a second attack do destroy him, was vigilant. When his spies reported that Zwide was on the march once more he gave orders that everybody should hide and all foodstuffs were destroyed. The Ndwandwe army searched in vain for the enemy. Having exhausted themselves with walking the Ndwandwe army lay down to rest, some to wake no more. For no sooner had they fallen asleep, then the Zulu army stealthily came out of their hiding place and set upon the sleeping Ndwandwes, and then began a massacre. But being too dark to distinguish between friend and foe in that hand to hand-encounter which ensued, there was a break and the Zulus stole away again. The Ndwandwe failed to locate the hiding place of the Zulus and so moved away.

But the final encounter was still to follow. Shaka's espionage system was very efficient. He had a friend in the camp of the enemy viz. Noluju. Shaka knew that the Ndwandwe armies never carried much food when they went out on a campaign, depending almost entirely on the food of the enemy. Knowing full well that no enemy could fight with empty stomachs, Shaka and Noluju decided on a plan of luring the Ndwandwe armies until they were exhausted. When the plans were perfected, Noluju went to Zwide who was not aware that Noluju was a traitor and urged Zwide to attack the Zulus. Believing implicitly in the discretion of Noluju, Zwide ordered his army to march against the Zulus. The Zulu army retired according to plan carrying away or destroying all food along the way. Decoys were employed to draw the Ndwandwe army along, but were instructed to avoid an encounter. When the armies reached the uThukela River the Zulus crossed and waited for the Ndwandwes to cross too. But this the Ndwandwe army would not do. Instead they turned and began to retrace their steps back home. On seeing this, Shaka ordered his men to cross and engage the Ndwandwe army. The Ndwandwe army had run short of supplies

[2] One of Zwide's regiments.

but they fought valiantly. For two days the two armies fought, although on the second day it became apparent that the Ndwandwe army could not hold its own against the Zulus. Quite early in the fight Shaka had despatched a regiment to go and destroy Zwide's kraal and kill or capture Zwide. They were to pretend that they were Zwide's men by singing the Ndwandwe war song. Indeed the Ndwandwe women were deceived and they came out in glee to meet their all conquering sons and husbands, only to be greeted with spears. A terrible confusion arose and Zwide only escaped death by hiding. When he emerged from his hiding place, he decided to place as many miles as possible between himself and Shaka. Meanwhile Zwide's army on the uThukela River had been beaten by the Zulus and when the Ndwandwe warriors returned home they found their homes ruins and ashes, and their wives and children corpses.

Umxoshi womuntu amxoshele futhi
Ngimthand' exosh' uZwide ozalwa uLanga
Emthaɓatha lapha liphuma khona
Emsingisa lapha lishona khona
UZwide wampheq' amahlonjan' omaɓili
UMaswezisela wakithi kwaɓulawayo [1]
Oswezisel' uZwide ngamagqanqula [2]
Ɓuya Mgengi phela! Indaɓ' usuyenzile
UZwid' umphendul' isigcwelegcwele
Namuhla futh' usuphendul' indodana.
(The one who chases and chases repeatedly
I like him chasing Zwide born of Langa
Taking him where it rises
And driving him towards where it sets.
He spread Zwide's two little shoulders.
The bringer of destitution of our kraal Bulawayo
Who brought destitution to Zwide with young bloods ;
Return deceiver, Stop! You have done something [awful]
Zwide you have turned into a fool
To-day again you have made the son [a fool].)

[1] Shaka's kraal. He named this kraal *kwaɓulawayo* in remembrance of the persecution he had suffered in his youth when his father Senzangakhona was after his blood. This kraal was erected on the Mhodi stream, tributary of the Mkhumbane. Later Shaka shifted his headquarters to a place a few miles out of Eshowe. This new kraal still bore the old name *kwaɓulawayo*.

Sikhunyana

The son referred to in the last line of the praises just quoted is Sikhunyana. Zwide's heir Nomhlanjana had died at Gqokli and Zwide died having not appointed his successor. When he died he left two of his sons Sikhunyana and Somaphunga. Somaphunga soon realized that his brother Sikhunyana wanted to take their father's place, and that he would leave no stone unturned to achieve this. Somaphunga realized that his life was unsafe if he continued to live with his brother, and so went to Shaka who received him kindly and gave him a wife and cattle. Shaka had attacked Zwide and here was the son now coming to ask for Shaka's protection. Because of this, Shaka became known as

Indlovu ethe imuka ɓaɓeyilandela aɓakwaLanga
(The elephant which as it went away those of Langa followed.)

Sikhunyana thus remained the undisputed chief. Feeling himself strong enough for an encounter with Shaka, Sikhunyana retraced his steps to the land of his birth to reclaim what he maintained to be his own. But he did not stay long in the old site. He immediately retreated as far as Ezindololwane and Encake hills, where he decided to wait. Apparently his aim had been to draw the lion out of the den. Shaka followed. A halt was made at Noɓamba [3] where a sacrifice was made and the army treated accordingly and then marched on to the battlefield. Sikhunyana was defeated and he hid himself in a forest nearby. Later he emerged and fled to Tembeland with the Zulus hard on his heels. They overtook him in Tembeland but again he wriggled through their fingers and struck a course up north to Soshangana, a relative of his, and where he was later killed. His death was engineered by one, Mbosho, who made it appear to Soshangana that Sikhunyana was up to no good. Writing of this incident, Bryant [4] says : "So with a party of Tongas he concocted a plan whereby they would proceed by night and trample through the

[2] Young men.
[3] Jama's kraal.
[4] Bryant, A. T., *Olden Times in Zululand*, p. 594.

veld a very obvious track leading straight from Sikhunyana's kraal to that of Soshangana. This duty done, that selfsame night Mbosho hastened to the king and whispered to him how he had just beheld dim figures stealing round the kraal and was sure that they came from Sikhunyana. With break of day, the pair went on a tour of exploration, and sure enough there was the broad and beaten track of the treacherous *aßathakathi* leading straight to Sikhunyana's gateway. No further evidence was needed; the case was proven against him."

Of importance, however, is the way Shaka had sent the father flying out of the country and then later the son.

Ntombazi

In the praises mention is made of Ntombazi. She was the mother of Zwide. Zwide's sister had been given to Dingiswayo to take for a wife and with her had been sent another girl[1] to be her attendant. Unfortunately Ntombazi's daughter was eclipsed by this attendant maid who won Dingiswayo's heart. Ntombazi was furious at this and when later Dingiswayo fell into a trap laid for him by Zwide, Ntombazi urged that Dingiswayo be killed. When Shaka decided to measure his strength against Zwide there were those who thought that he was attempting the impossible, that his action was likely to prove his own undoing; hence the praises

Inkonyan'[2] *ekhwele phezu kwendlu kwaNtombazi*
Ɓathi iyahlola
Kanti yißona ßezaz' ukuhlola.
(The calf which climbed on the house at Ntombazi's
And they said it portended evil
When they knew themselves to portend evil.)

Phungashe

Uklebe engimßon' ukwehla
.....
Kwathi kwezikaPhungashe wanyamalala.
(The hawk I saw swooping down
And amongst Phungashe's it disappeared.)

Shaka waged numerous wars. One of these was against the Ɓuthelezi chief Phungashe. Phungashe was much older than Shaka. In fact he was ruling during the time of Senzangakhona. He had been much stronger than Senzangakhona and demanded tribute from him. "There were greedy and aggressive and powerful chiefs upon his (Senzangakhona) every flank, who were a source of wrong doing and apprehension..... On another flank was Phungashe, Ɓuthelezi chief, still nearer home and equally aggressive despite all marital affinities. He even demanded that Senzangakhona pay tribute to him."[3]

Shaka knew what Phungashe had been doing to his father and decided to tackle him. Besides, Phungashe had committed the indiscretion of referring to Shaka as "Dingiswayo's poor man". War was declared and the two armies met. Phungashe had not seen the Zulus fighting and knew nothing of their short spears. He expected that the fight would follow the old style of throwing the spear in the hope that it would find its mark. When the Zulus did not hurl their spears but approached to tackle at close quarters, the Ɓuthelezi army was thrown into confusion and Phungashe fled to Zwide for protection.

UGasane kade lußagasela
Lugasel' uPhungashe wakwaßuthelezi.
(The striker who has long been attacking them
He attacked Phungashe of the Ɓuthelezi.)

Dunjwa and Mangcengeza

Reference is made in the praises to Dunjwa of Oyengweni and Mangcengeza of Khali.

Inkom' ekhal' emthonjaneni
Izizwe zonke ziyizwil' ukulila
Izwiwe uDunjwa waseLuyengweni
Yezwiwa uMangcengeza wakwaKhali.
(The cow that lowed at Emthonjaneni

[1] She is said to have been Zwide's half-sister.
[2] Shaka was much younger than Zwide. He was a mere calf at the side of the old bull. Hence his act was regarded as daring.
[3] Bryant, A. T., *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 56.

. " the tribes have heard its cry
It was heard by Dunjwa of Oyengweni
And was heard by Mangcengeza of Khali.)

There seems to have been two kraals named Oyengweni. One kraal was established by Joße chief of the Mthethwa tribe. It was at this kraal that the sons of Joße are said to have conspired against their father, there where Tana met his death and Godongwana received his spear wound. Another kraal Oyengweni was built towards Thaleni hill by a man named Mpungose. This man was a servant in the Zulu royal kraal. Some informants state that the Dunjwa who is mentioned in the praises belonged to the kraal of Joße whilst others state that reference is made to Dunjwa Mpungose. It is difficult to say with certainty who of the two people the praises refer to. It will be observed, though, that these praises occur with praises of his early youth. It is known that Shaka went to take his father's place when the latter died. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that the Dunjwa referred to here is that of the Mpungose clan. But the case for the other possibility is almost equally strong and cannot be lightly dismissed. The chances are equal of its being the correct interpretation. Shaka had not been away long from Mthethwa when he was summoned by Dingiswayo to help him in the Zwide campaign. The results of that campaign we already know. There was some confusion among the Mthethwas as to who would succeed Dingiswayo. Shaka decided to step in and no one was brave enough to dispute his right. He brought the tribes together. It is claimed by some then that this is the incident referred to. A third possibility is that the bard, perhaps without any intention to do so, has in one line combined two different episodes.

Mangcengeza was the chief of the Mbatha clan. His father Khali had been attacked by Dingiswayo, but Khali had retired in time. Thus the task of dealing with Khali became Shaka's concern. But meanwhile Khali died and his son Mangcengeza succeeded him. Shaka made an attack and at first Mangcengeza stood firm. But once the armies of Shaka crossed the Mhlahlane River the Mbathas took to their heels.

[1] Glide, sail. [2] Macingwane's kraal.
[3] Killing of Mafongosi referred to later.

Children of Tayi

Ondande[1] *ngokhal' olude*
Wadaßul' emathanjeni
Aßantaßaka Tayi
Eßeßegodəla ßeya kuMacingwane eNgonyameni.[2]
(Who glided by the long plain
And crossed through the bones
Of the children of Tayi
Who were catching cold going to Macingwane at Ngonyameni.)

Shaka killed Mafongosi[3] and took captive Mafongosi's followers. These however resented the insulting insinuations directed at them by the Zulus and they decided to run away to Duße. Duße refused them, however, for fear that he might bring upon himself the wrath of Shaka by harbouring these refugees. And so the Ngongomas, Mafongosi's followers, broke up. One party went to seek asylum with Zihlandlo kaGcwaße of the Embo clan, another party went to Ngombane of the Bomvini clan. This latter was deceived into believing that an asylum was being given them, while meanwhile the Bomvus were contemplating treachery. They set upon them without warning, killing them all, only a few escaping, among whom were some children of Tayi and Tondolozi. These few survivors decided to run away to Macingwane at Engonyameni.[4] On the way, however, on the plain from Ntunjambili, it snowed and all the children of Tayi perished. It was through this plain that Shaka's army later marched, "crossing the bones of the children of Tayi".

Mafongosi

Mafongosi, of whom reference has been made above, was the son of Bovungana of the Ngongoma clan. Very early in his career Shaka decided to subdue all the other chiefs. Bovungana's turn came but he ran away. His son, however, did not run away with his father. He remained behind and

[4] This was Macingwane's kraal, and was situated somewhere near Greytown.

became head of the tribe. The Ngongomas were very powerful and brave fighters. So Shaka decided on a surprise attack. He sent a batch of messengers as envoys to Mafongosi and before they returned another batch was despatched and before these returned, yet another group was sent until a large number of Zulu warriors were installed in Ngongomaland. The Ngongoma people began to grow suspicious at this unusual proceeding, but the Zulus seizing time by the forelock stabbed Mafongosi in his hut and then proceeded on wholesale massacre. The Ngongomas tried to put up a fight, but they had been unprepared ; and besides, with their king gone, the incentive for fighting had gone. A large Zulu army arrived at about that time and proceeded on systematic looting. Cattle and corn were taken away and after about a month the Zulu army retired. That marked the end of Mafongosi.

Sihayo

Mafongosi's name is mentioned with that of Sihayo. Sihayo was the son of Mapholoßa, the Nyuswa chief. Mapholoßa had only one son Miswayo by his chief wife, and Miswayo died soon after his father, thus leaving no heir. Trouble then arose between two of Mapholoßa's sons by his other wives. These sons were Sihayo and Mgaßi. They were both eager to succeed their father. An attempt at reconciliation failed until Shaka intervened. He called the two rivals to his kraal at Ƀulawayo. They came fully attired. Each one was accompanied by his followers. They made a semicircle in the courtyard and Shaka brought out his dog. This dog went round the circle sniffing everybody including Mgaßi. Sihayo, however, it did not sniff but merely stood in front of him and thereafter lay down in front of him. What more was wanted ? The dog had decided the issue. Sihayo was the rightful claimant.

Ubiyoze kuNomangci phezulu
Eyakunqamula umßango wakwaNyuswa.
(He walked on top of Nomangci
Going to arbitrate in the feud at Nyuswa.)

Shaka made Sihayo an *induna* at Badaneni. He was instructed to forward to his majesty tobacco every year. Mgaßi had not been killed after he had lost his claim at Ƀulawayo because Sihayo pleaded for him. This, however, was to prove his own undoing. Mgaßi secretly went to Shaka and told him that Sihayo bathed over the tobacco before sending it over to the king. That was Sihayo's death warrant. Closely following on the destruction of Mafongosi, an army was sent to destroy Sihayo. And so Shaka became

Okhangele ezansi namaDungela
Izinkomo zawoSihayo zamlandela
Kwaze kwalandela nezawoMafongosi.
(Who looked down the Madungela
The cattle of Sihayo followed him
And even those of Mafongosi followed.)

Macingwane

Macingwane whose name we have come across above was already chief during the time of Senzangakhona. He was chief of the Chunu tribe and a powerful chief too. His great kraal near the Thaleni hill was called eNgonyameni. He is said to have given Senzangakhona a great deal of trouble. Having attacked and brought to the dust many chiefs, Shaka turned his attention to Macingwane. Macingwane did not wait for the attack but decamped with all his followers and cattle. His wanderings after that do not concern us here. Suffice it to say that he brought great misery to many small tribes as he went along. If he thought that he was safe from the Zulu spears he was very wrong and had a rude awakening. One day without warning there appeared over the Emaßedlana heights the Zulu army which sent a shiver down his spine. He hastened away to Pholela, crossed the Pholela and the Mzimkhulu, crossed the Ngwangwane and betook himself to the forest on the eNsikeni hill. With women, children and other impediments, his progress was slow. The Zulus overtook him at Nsikeni and there a massacre sharp and complete was enacted. Macingwane, however, and a few others escaped.

Nxaßa

Nxaßa kaMbekane is another man who appears in the praises of Shaka. Nxaßa was chief of the

Msanes. To this clan also belonged one of Shaka's great fighters, Mgobozi-ovela-entaßeni. The Msanes and the Mnqoßokazis their neighbours had a way of fighting peculiar to themselves at that time. Not caring for shield and assegai one part stole under cover of darkness to the homes of the other party and there indulged in burning down huts and people. Shaka decided to put a stop to this and he attacked Nxaßa. Many men, women and children were slain that day but Nxaßa himself escaped. He hid himself in a forest and remnants of his followers joined him there. As soon as a sufficient number had grouped around him, he emerged from his hiding place and hastened northwards.

Phakathwayo

Phakathwayo, the Qwaße chief, also received attention from Shaka. Phakathwayo was slightly older than Shaka. Shaka's first visit was a friendly one. But it did not end well, because Shaka went away annoyed. Phakathwayo had boasted about the superior dancing skill of his Qwaße's and in the love dance that followed it became evident that Phakathwayo's was no empty boast. All this happened when Zwide was still in power. Shaka thought that it would be a good thing to seek Phakathwayo's protection from Zwide. Phakathwayo refused and Shaka told him to sharpen his spears. But before they came to blows Zwide made a second attack on Shaka in which Noluju betrayed Zwide to Shaka. The outcome of this campaign has been referred to.

After this fight with Zwide, Shaka proceeded with his preparations for an attack on Phakathwayo. Spies sent by Shaka to Phakathwayo returned with very insulting and disquieting reports. But the report which maddened Shaka most was to hear that Phakathwayo was paying addresses to his mother Nandi who had married Ngendeyana. On the appointed day the two armies met. Phakathwayo's army was defeated but he managed to escape. According to report, Phakathwayo was found later with his neck twisted.[1] And thus one by one Shaka added to his list of victims.

[1] BRYANT, A. T., *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 199.

UGasane lukaNdaßa kade lußagasela
Lugasel' uPhungashe wakwaßuthelezi
Lwagasel' uSondaßa womThand'[2] *ehlez' eßandla*
Lwagasel' uMacingwane eNgonyameni
Lwagasel' uNxaßa kaMbekane
Lwagasel' uGambushe emaMpondweni
Lwagasel' uFaku emaMpondweni.
(The striker of Ndaßa, long has he been attacking them
He struck Phungashe of the Buthelezi's
And struck Sondaßa of uMthanda sitting at court
And struck Macingwane at Ngonyameni
And struck Nxaßa son of Mbekane
And struck Gambushe in Pondoland
And struck Faku in Pondoland.)

The Pondos

The last two lines in the praises just quoted reveal that Shaka did not confine himself to Zululand but sent his armies even as far afield as Pondoland. It was towards the end of his reign that Shaka attacked the Pondos. The army left home and halted at Sihluthankungu, there to rest. Another halt was made near the Umzimkhulu River and there the army was divided into two. One division was placed under Mdlaka, his chief general. This division was to tackle the Pondos. Another division was placed under Manyundela. This division was to attack the Thembus and the refugees from Natal further inland.

When the alarm was sounded, Faku and his Pondos with their herds retired into the forest. Gambushe, chief of the Bomvana tribe did likewise. Thinking that the Zulus had gone away Faku's Pondos came out of hiding, but no sooner had they emerged than they were attacked. Running back to the fastnesses of their forests they left their herds behind which the Zulus were only too happy to drive away.

Referring to Shaka's raids, Soga[3] writes: "Therefore Shaka looked round for enemies to the more distant tribes and espied the Pondos whom he attacked. He made frequent raids upon them in search of cattle for the support of his

[2] The name of Phakathwayo's kraal.
[3] SOGA, *The South Eastern Bantu*, p. 306.

army. The fear of these constant attacks caused Faku to secrete himself, and he found a favourable retreat in the fastnesses of the Mngazi heights."

"Tradition says that the Pondos were the first among other tribes to leave the Deßesi, going towards the sea and settling beyond the Umzimvußu and the Pondomise followed, settling above the Pondos close to the sea near the Mtavuna ..... At that time they lived between the Mzimvußu and Mngazi, pent up there out of fear of Shaka and Dingane, although they still claimed all the country above this to the border of the Mtamvuna."[1] It becomes easier to appreciate the praises

Inyath' ejame ngomkhonto phezu koMzimvußu
AmaMpond' ayesaßa nokuyehlela.
(The buffalo which stands fiercely with the spear on the Mzimvußu
The Pondos fear even to descend upon it.)

when we realize that the country in which Shaka now settled his armies belonged to the Pondos and Pondomise who feared to claim it.

Thus did Shaka spread panic right and left. He was behaving like a madman in front of everybody. No man was brave enough to frustrate him.

Uhlany' olusemehlwen' amadoda.
(The madman who is in the eyes of men.)

He is cautioned to beware

Shaka had built up the Zulu nation and the people liked him for that. They also admired his great courage. But as the Zulus say: "*Aßantu aßayi nganxanye ßengemanzi*" (People do not go one way like water) some people were not altogether satisfied, especially some of the warriors who complained that they were given no opportunity to rest. Conspiracies began ; though these were unknown to him. It seems as if the bard intended to convey to Shaka the danger that was beginning to show itself when he said :

Mgengi, phez' izitha kusehloßo
Utshani ßude ßuzokugißanisa.
(Deceiver, stop making enemies, it is summer
The grass is tall, it will trip you.)

Shaka who seemed to be always alive to the possible sources of danger, in an inexplicable way overlooked the most dangerous source, his own brothers. They conspired against him and in 1828 Shaka met his death at the hands of his brothers.

Ulusißa gojela ngalaphaya kweNkandla
Lugojela njalo ludl' amadoda
Isidlukula dlwedlwe
Siyadla sidlondloßele
Sißeke isihlangu emadolweni
Oth' esadl' ezinye wadl' ezinye
Wath' esadl' ezinye wadl' ezinye
Oth' esadl' ezinye wadl' ezinye
Wath' esadl' ezinye wadl' ezinye.
(Thou plume, swallow up on the other side of Nkandla
As it swallows it devours men
The fierce tall one
As he eats he is mad with rage
He has the shield on his knees.
Who having just devoured some devoured others
And having just devoured some devoured others
Who having just devoured some devoured others
And having just devoured some devoured others.

II

IZIßONGO ZIKA DINGANE

After the death of Shaka, Dingane with the aid of his aunt Mnkaßayi became king of the Zulus. If Shaka had been a killer, Dingane was in no way better. In fact it is held by some people that Dingane was a more ruthless killer than his brother Shaka.

Dingane did not wage as many wars as did Shaka. This may also be observed in his praises in which deeds of valour are not as numerous as in Shaka's. Shaka had done almost all the fighting at home and what little fighting there was left for Dingane was beyond the frontiers of Zululand.

[1] Soga, *The South Eastern Bantu*, p. 301-2.

And yet a new element was to introduce itself in the time of Dingane which gave him very little peace of mind and which was to culminate in an incident the after effects or repercussions of which may still be felt to-day. I refer to the trekkers in Zululand.

Accession to the throne

Without stopping to draw a character sketch of Dingane at this juncture, I shall immediately proceed to examine the historical facts in his praises.

The opening lines of his praises :

UVezi, uNonyanda, uMgaɓadeli
Owagaɓadela inkundla yakwaɓulawayo.
(Vezi, the huge one, the daring one
Who dared the courtyard of Ɓulawayo.)

refer to a very important episode in Zulu history—the death of Shaka.

One of Shaka's characteristics was that he did not want children. He saw in children a potential source of danger. To him children represented trouble. Whenever a child was born to one of his "sisters" it was killed. Sometimes the woman was killed even before she gave birth. Thus does it seem strange that a man so careful of what may prove his own undoing should have spared some of his brothers. He little knew that his final exit would be engineered by these selfsame brothers.

The rule of Shaka might be said to have been a harsh one and although people had not broken out in open rebellion it was only because they lacked a strong man who would deliver them from the terror. His brothers too did not seem to be overhappy. Perhaps it was because of the thought that Shaka being a man of such uncertain temper and doubtful humour, might perhaps "sign" their death warrant any day. And so they decided to strike first.

Shaka had sent out his army to Pondoland and when this army returned, before even pausing to rest, he ordered that it proceed to the north against Mzilikazi. This was indeed too much. His brothers were to go out with the army. They had not gone far, however, when they quietly broke away from the rest of the army and retraced their steps back home. Dingane was one of them.

UMashiy' impi yakhe.
(The deserter of his army.)

All able bodied men had gone out with the army and Shaka was left with only a few elderly men. Dingane, Mhlangana and Mɓopha, the latter Shaka's *induna*, perfected their plans of assassinating the king. At the appointed time Mɓopha came into the kraal where Shaka was seated and began beating some men in the king's presence. Nonplussed at that unprecedented insolence, Shaka asked Mɓopha what the meaning of that outrage might be. The answer was brief. It was a thrust with the spear followed by Dingane's and Mhlangana's thrusts. The latter two had been hiding behind the hedge waiting for Mɓopha to set the ball rolling. It was at his kraal *kwaɓulawayo* that Shaka met his death. It was for this reason that Dingane got his praises *umgaɓadeli*, i.e. one who dares a forbidding task.

Dingane having himself conspired against and effected the death of Shaka decided to take greater precaution and avoid Shaka's mistake. He proceeded to kill all his brothers whom he knew would perhaps engineer his downfall. Mpande escaped only because Ndlela, the chief *induna*, pleaded for him saying that he was altogether harmless and was a fool.[1] For killing his brothers Dingane was praised as

Ithol' elinsizwa[2] *lakoka Donda*[3]
Elihambe liwakhahlel' amany' amathole.
(The hornless calf of the kraal of Donda
Which went on kicking the other calves.)

Mhlangana was one of these brothers who were "kicked" by Dingane. Dingane knew that Mhlangana had a large following and that to kill him openly might lead to serious bloodshed. A more cunning way of despatching him had to be evolved. According to report, Dingane was helped by Mnkaɓayi in this. It seems as if Dingane and Mhlangana had to go to the river to bathe before one

[1] Mpande was generally known as *isilinyana esinomchoɓoko* (the little palsied fool).

[2] Hornless bullock.
[3] Donda, his mother.

of them was appointed by lot to be Shaka's successor. Mnkaßayi's men went with them but none of their own followers were there. As pre-arranged, Mnkaßayi's men drowned Mhlangana and a story was told that whilst swimming, Mhlangana had been seized by a cramp and by the time they dragged him out of the water he was beyond all help. Dingane was in the conspiracy. This story seems to be well supported by the praises

Isiziß' esisemavivane[1] *Dingane*
Isiziß' esinzonzo sinzonzoßele
Siminzis' umuntu eth' uyageza
Waze washona nangesicoco.
(The pool that is at Mavivane, Dingane
The deep pool is still
It drowned a person attempting to wash
And sunk even with the headring.)

The praises, however, do not only refer to the killing of his brothers but they embrace the killing of chiefs of other tribes. Other men mentioned are Magaye kaDißandlela who was chief of the Celes, Nzwakele and Madlanga.

Young men and women during the time of Shaka could not marry until Shaka had given his sanction. He would release a certain regiment of old men to marry and would also release a regiment of girls from which the men would choose their wives. Those men could then sew headrings. And so it happened that girls found themselves compelled to marry men they did not love. Again all the beautiful girls were for the king and for him alone. Many of those girls did not like that promotion to the status of "royal sisters". To be "sisters of royalty" meant that they had to desert their lovers. Because of that, nocturnal escapades were not uncommon, the "royal sisters" daring the wrath of their "royal brother and lord" to meet their less royal lovers. It was from that life that Dingane freed the people and was thus hailed as a rescuer.

UMalamlela
Owalamulel' aßafazi namadoda
Walamulel' izintombi namasoka.
(The saviour
Who saved women and men
And saved girls and young men.)

It is not suggested, however, that Dingane did not collect girls for his harem.

Again he was regarded as the producer—*UVezi* because he killed Shaka and so "produced" the people. This gives a wrong impression, however, because Dingane was by no means better than Shaka in the killing of people. That this was the case may be observed also in the praises

Umvus' omnyama wawo Sikhakha
Ovusel' aßant' ukuhlatshwa.
(The black awakener of the kraal of Sikhakha
Who awakened people for slaughtering.)

And thus did Dingane ascend to the Zulu throne; but to do this he had to follow a dangerous route and waded through blood.

Odonswe ngezinzaßa ezimakhelekethe.
(Who was dragged through precipitous mountains.)

This is a line which in three words, sums up very effectively the dangerous path which Dingane had to travel in order to become king of the Zulus. To begin with, there had been the greatest danger of all, Shaka himself, who meted out death at any time. If Dingane wanted to be king he had to remove that major obstacle. He killed Shaka, his brothers and even those men who had been prominent during Shaka's reign, and from whom trouble might be expected. Thus through the blood of his royal brothers and Zulu nobles Dingane waded to his throne.

The enormity of his crime is effectively portrayed in the praises

Oßuz' amanz' embozamo and' ukuwela
Amanz' embozamo osal' eßaßaza
Owel' iMbozamo umntakaJama
Wawel' iMbozamo kwash' iziziba.
(Who asked the waters of the Mbozamo before crossing
The waters of the Mbozamo will remain wondering
Who crossed the Mbozamo, it is the son of Jama
He crossed the Mbozamo and the pools dried.)

[1] Some say "*mayiwane*" near Mahlaßathini.

Mzilikazi Campaign

Mzilikazi kaMashoßane had his kraal at Ngome, in Zululand. He was at the head of the Khumalo tribe or clan. He was a brilliant fighter and was one of Shaka's great fighters. The usual story told about the flight of Mzilikazi is that he had been sent by Shaka to attack a certain tribe and when he returned with the cattle he kept the best for himself and sent the rest to Shaka. Shaka got to know of the unfaithful behaviour of his general and decided to punish him. Mzilikazi did not wait for the fury but decamped northwards.

There is another version however. Shaka had defeated all the tribes and he soon realized that there were no tribes strong enough to have fun with. So he told Mzilikazi to move away from Zululand, collect as many men as possible farther afield so that they may have a chance to *ngcweka*—mock fight. This version however is rather weak. Whatever is the correct version, Dingane decided to send an army to go and fetch cattle from Mzilikazi. There is no evidence to prove that these cattle were taken by Mzilikazi during the reign of Dingane. He was still after the cattle which Mzilikazi had taken from Shaka. Dingane's army was led by Ndlela kaSompisi Ntuli who was the chief *induna*. With him was Nzcßo kaSoßadli. Unfortunately for Mzilikazi his army was away at the time on a campaign to Rhodesia. The patch-up army that he collected was too weak for the Zulu army and Mzilikazi had to retire to his stronghold. The cattle were collected and the Zulu army went back home.

Mzilikazi might have hoped that after that campaign he would be left in peace, but that was not to be. The Zulu army had to be kept on the move all the time. After a few yerars Dingane again remembered Mzilikazi. This was a particularly bad time for Mzilikazi as the Trekkers had already come to the scene and they were giving him anxious times. Although the Zulu army was much depleted on the way, Mzilikazi was again defeated and an appreciable number of his cattle were driven away.

On this campaign against Mzilikazi, Dingane's army camped at a place of Mlambo where the "cow" lowed on the ruins

Inkom' ekhal' osizini kwakaNhlapho
Umlomo yawubekisa kwaZulu
Izizwe zonke ziyizwil' ukulila
Yezwakala kuNhlapho, kwaMlambo
Iye yazwiwa amantungwa akwa okhumalo.
(The beast which bellowed on the ashes at Nhlapho
Its mouth it directed towards Zululand
All the tribes have heard its bellowing
It was audible to Nhlapho at Mlambo's
It was heard by the Ntungwas of Sokhumalo.)

From the word *osizini* it is possible that the kraal had been destroyed, only shambles remaining. There is no evidence, however, as to who had destroyed this kraal, although there is the possibility that it was Dingane's army. No specific indication is given as to the exact locality of this kraal, but this much is obvious, that it was close to the Vaal River. It would seem as if when the army got to this place, they encountered Bushmen. The army in need of something to eat decided to capture the corn of the Bushmen and consumed it. It is to this incident that the following praises refer :

Izicuvezi azimhlaßanga eya phambili
Zalißal' ukumßuk' izinyawo
Zathi siyakumhlaß' esegoduka
Kuth' esegoduka zase zilißele
Ukußamb' izingxangx' emfuleri.
(The Bushmen did not stab him on his forward journey
They were occupied with looking at his feet
And said we shall stab him when he goes home ;
When he went home they were engaged
With catching frogs in the river.)

These are the campaigns which have been immortalized in the praises :

Ɓantu, ninemihloßo ngaseNsingweni
Gijimani niyotshen' aßakwaMashoßana
Nifike nithi Lukhulu, luyeza ; luyanyelela
Silufanisa noNdaßa wakokaßayeni
Silufanisa noPhunga noMageßa.
AßakwaMashoßana ßelelesile
Ɓazißukul' itshe linemamba
Seßejiyelwe nokulisißekela

Ohlangene nodwendwe lwamaqhikiza
Wadl' uNtanase noNozinyanga kwaMashoßana
Wathi kaßayoßon' inkundla yakithi eMgungundlovu
Wadl' uNsizwazana unina kaMzilikazi kwaMashoßana
Waze wafiika ngaphakathi kithi eMgungundlovu
Wadl' uMahaßulangweß' isashisa, kwaMashoßana
Wadl' uNsimbakazi emsila lugaju kwaMashoßana
Wadl' uKhwaßaß' esambeth' impaka kwaMashoßana
Wadl' umlom' udlel' emeveni njengembuzi kwaMashoßana
Wadl' umhlan' eßeleth' igudu kwaMashoßana
Wadl' umlomo wezinqaßa kwaMashoßana
Wadl' uGundane kuMitha kwaMashoßana
Wadl' uNkom' ikulala kulukhuni khona kwaMashoßana.

(People you have friends near Nsingweni
Run ye and tell the people of Mashoßana
And say it is big, it is coming, it comes stealthily;
We liken it to Ndaßa of the kraal of SSayeni
We liken it to Phunga and Mageßa
The people of Mashoßana did wrong
They uncovered a stone with a mamba
They are at a loss now how to cover it.
Who met a row of young girls
And ate Ntanase and Nozinyanga at Mashoßana's
And said they should go and see our courtyard at Mgungundlovu
And ate Nsizwazana mother of Mzilikazi at Mashoßana's
Until she arrived inside our kraal at Mgungundlovu
And ate Mr. Drinker-of-hot-foam at Mashoßana
And ate Nsimbakazi with a long tail at Mashoßana
And ate Khwaßaßa who wears the wild cat at Mashoßana
And ate Mr. Mouth-that-eats-on thorns like a goat at Mashoßana
And ate Mr. Back-which-carries the smoking horn at Mashoßana
And ate Mouth-of-the-fortresses at Mashoßana
And ate Beast-that-finds-it-difficult to sleep still at Mashoßana.)

This is about the only major campaign that Dingane undertook which explains the great length of his praises referring to Mzilikazi.

But before dismissing the praises dealing with Mzilikazi, a question arises. Why is it that Dingane has such lengthy praises of his campaigns against Mzilikazi whilst in Shaka's praises no mention is made of Mzilikazi at all? It will be remembered that Mzilikazi was Shaka's *induna*, and that according to popular version, Mzilikazi had incurred Shaka's displeasure. Mzilikazi aware of the wrath to come decided to run away. And yet we hear nothing in Shaka's praises of this incident. Is it possible that this lengthy account which appears in Dingane's praises is in fact Shaka's praises? That a mistake of that nature could be made is probable. The practice of reciting the praises of all kings dating right back in the dim past up to the reigning monarch is likely to create such confusion whereby the praises of one monarch are transferred to another. That Dingane did attack Mzilikazi there can be no doubt. My impression is that part of these praises are Shaka's and the other part belongs to Dingane. That these praises

AßakwaMashoßana ßelelesile
SSazißukul' itshe linemamba
Seßejiyelwe nokulisißekela
(The people of Mashoßana did wrong
They uncovered a stone with a mamba
They are at a loss now how to cover it)

belong to Shaka, I am convinced. When Dingane came to power Mzilikazi had gone away, so that they had no occasion to offend him. It was Shaka they had offended and he is the Mamba referred to. Having inadvertently removed the stone and found the mamba under it they were so terrified that they could not again cover it but took to their heels and disappeared beyond the Zululand horizon.

(To be continued.)

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Education for Citizenship in Africa. The Report of a Sub-Committee set up in March, 1946, by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies in order to study the problem of educating Colonial people for citizenship has been published with the approval of the Secretary of State. The Report is primarily concerned with conditions in the African colonies.

The declared aim of British Colonial policy is the achievement by all Colonial peoples of responsible self-government. The appearance of African majorities in Legislative Assemblies, the promotion of social services by the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, and the provision for economic development under the Overseas Resources Development Act, are all calculated to help forward the realization of that object. But, if self-government is to be democratic, machinery, institutions and material prosperity are not enough. The citizens, also, must be well-informed on all matters which are the concern of government, capable of straight-thinking and of forming an independent judgement. Moreover, each citizen must have a sense of public responsibility and a tolerance and objectivity in political discussion and practice. It is in fostering the acquisition of these qualities that education has a vital part to play.

The Sub-Committee makes detailed recommendations as to the manner in which education can fulfil this function. As to children of school age, it points out that, while all true education is education for citizenship, particular attention should be paid to relating the subjects of study to circumstances and events in the environment of the child outside school, and to providing opportunities for the exercise of responsibility in out-of-class activities such as school societies and on the playing field. As to Adult Education, the Sub-Committee notes the beginnings that have been made in Mass Education, and it looks forward to the extension of organized work in adult education through movements such as that of the Workers' Educational Association and University Extension movement in England. Already, the Extra-Mural Delegacy of the University of Oxford has begun an experimental scheme in West Africa by supplying tutors and assisting in the organization of study classes in the Gold Coast. The importance of the cinema, wireless, reading material, the Press, and Government Information Services, as educational agencies, are also noted. Much can be done through such institutions as the Government sponsored Gaskiya Corporation in Northern Nigeria which publishes a fortnightly newspaper, news sheets and pamphlets, with the aim of encouraging the literate public to read. The Sub-Committee also stresses the value of public relations departments in explaining to the people what that Government is doing and what it proposes to do, and the importance of seeking the co-operation of the Press through frequent Press Conferences and raising the standard of journalism by sending journalists for training in the U.K. Already several West African journalists have been afforded this training by the help of British Council Scholarships. Finally, the Sub-Committee is insistent in its acceptance of the principle "that you cannot educate people for citizenship unless you give them the chance of exercising their citizenship". It suggests that all educational work should be accompanied by parallel advances in political responsibility in order that people who have learnt new ideas may have the chance of putting them into practice. Special importance is therefore attached to the increasing attention being paid to the development of local government, and to the participation of Africans in development councils and in the co-operative movement, all of which provide the training in administration and responsibility which is an essential preparation for self-government.

Communications in East Africa. The amalgamation on 1st May of the Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours Administration with the Tanganyika Railways and Ports Services marks an important step in the development of communications in East Africa. This amalgamated system will be known as the East Africa Railways and Harbours Administration; it will be a self-contained department under the East Africa High Commission.

The East African railway system will consist of two separate sections; the Uganda and Kenya line which runs from Kampala to Mombasa with a connecting link to the small North Tanganyika port of Tanga, and secondly the main Tanganyika line from Kigoma to Dar-es-Salaam with connections to Mwanza on Lake Victoria and Kongwa the present main centre of operation of the groundnut scheme. In Tanganyika a new railway line is under construction to link Mpanda, a district rich in minerals, to the Tanganyika main line, and and another from Lindi inland to the largest area selected for groundnut growing. Figures for 1945 show the carriage during the year of 1,500,000 passengers and 357,000 tons of freight. In 1947 the Kenya and Uganda railways carried almost 3 million passengers and 1,800,000 tons of goods.

The new East African Railways and Harbours Administration will continue to operate the lake and river steamer services which have been organized by the railways; these are the Lake Tanganyika steamship and launch services and the Lake Victoria services which amounted in 1947 to 2,280 miles of lake and river routes.

Road services have also been operated by the railways during and since the war and form valuable connecting links with the railway lines. All the three East African territories have allowed for major road extensions and improvements in their development plans. Uganda already has a comparatively good network of gravel roads which, in conjunction with the railway and extensive steamship services, provides a comprehensive transport system; recently reconstruction has been carried out on the Entebbe–Kampala–Jinja–Iganga route; future work will concentrate on the bitumenizing of the most heavily used routes, on the provision of motor ferries at several important river crossings, and on some extensions in the north and west. Kenya is concentrating on the improvement of existing roads such as that between Nakuru and Limuru which was largely reconstructed in 1946. In Tanganyika the Great North Road running from the Kenya border through Dodoma and Mbeya into Northern Rhodesia was greatly improved during the war, and now forms an all-weather through route.

* * *

The village Resettlement Scheme at Anchau, Northern Nigeria. In a letter to the *Nigeria Review* of 13 March of this year, Mr. Ayo Lijadu of the Public Relations Department in Nigeria, gives some interesting details of the progress of the village resettlement scheme at Anchau near Zaria in Northern Nigeria.

Ten years ago, the people of the Anchau District were ravaged by sleeping sickness carried by the tsetse fly which bred in the bushes overhanging the stream near villages, watering places and river-side farms. The people were debilitated and in consequence their agriculture was backward and their poverty great. In 1937, the officers of the Sleeping Sickness Service of the Medical Department selected the area for a large-scale experiment in the control of the disease. They realized that their problem was sociological as well as medical and that for the lot of the people to be permanently improved their measures to clear the bush and stamp out the tsetse fly must be accompanied by instruction in a new way of life. Thus, their plan not only envisaged the creation of a tsetse-free corridor 70 miles long and 700 square miles in area, but also provided for the resettlement of the population in the corridor and for improved water supplies, village hygiene and agricultural methods.

Staffs were trained, investigations carried out, the initial work of clearing undertaken, and in 1939 work on the new villages was begun. These are well laid-out, usually grouped round a central well space, with wide streets and spacious market places. The villagers have not been left to their own devices but have been shown how to live

a healthier and more prosperous life in their new environment. Apart from help in building the villages on hygienic lines, dispensaries have been set up, supervised by an assistant medical officer stationed at Anchau; a veterinary station and stock farm at Anchau provides manure, cattle immunization facilities and helps villagers to improve the breed of their livestock; advice and guidance are given on agricultural method; and primary and elementary schools have been opened in centrally placed villages from which bright pupils can pass to middle schools in the towns. There is also a flourishing brown sugar industry which finds a market throughout the Northern Provinces. Its growth has been officially encouraged, the crushing machines which squeeze the juice from the sugar cane being issued to the villagers on the hire purchase system, repayment being spread over a convenient period of time.

The original work of planning, research, and training of staffs was undertaken by the officers of the Medical Department. Financial assistance was provided out of a grant of £95,000 from the Colonial Development Fund of 1929 to supplement the liberal provision already being made by the Government of Nigeria out of its own revenues for the purpose of combating sleeping sickness. Supervision over the resettled villagers is maintained, and propaganda teams consisting of representatives of the agricultural, forestry, veterinary and health departments tour the villages giving talks, advice, and demonstrations on departmental activities. Nevertheless, it is recognized that success would not have been achieved without the co-operation of the people whose enthusiasm for the new way of life increases. A most convincing proof of the success of the scheme is the way in which it has been copied by people of neighbouring areas. Thus, for example, the people of Giwa village, north-west of Zaria, lacked good water for drinking purposes and suffered so severely from guinea worm that they were unable to maintain any but a low standard of life. Three years ago, on their own initiative and stimulated by what the villagers in the Anchau Corridor had achieved, they moved to a new site. The Native Administration afforded them assistance and they now occupy a well laid-out village, with a good water supply, an elementary school, and with their own Native Administration Offices and Alkali's Court. Not one of the 400 inhabitants is handicapped by guinea worm in the pursuit of his agricultural activities. A measure of the enthusiasm of these people is the Village Assembly Hall which they have built themselves.

* * *

Miss Margaret Wrong. The development of Christian literature in Africa has sustained a heavy blow in the death on 11th April, at Gulu, a C.M.S. station in Uganda, of Miss Margaret Wrong, Secretary of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa.

Miss Wrong was at the time on one of her series of visits to East Africa in connexion with her work.

In a brief biographical note, the Rev. Norman Goodall, London secretary of the International Missionary Council, says:

"The sudden death of Miss Margaret Wrong through heart failure while travelling in Uganda brings a heavy sense of loss to a world-wide circle of friends, and in particular to all who have any concern with the cultural and religious development of the peoples of tropical Africa. For more than twenty years Miss Wrong had devoted her very great gifts to the study and service of Africa and had become an acknowledged authority whose counsel was valued by Colonial Governments and educational authorities, as well as by the missionary societies and African churches with which her service was most directly concerned.

"Born in 1887, the daughter of Professor Wrong of Toronto, Margaret Wrong was educated at Havergal and University Colleges, Toronto, and Somerville College, Oxford. From 1914 to 1918 she was Warden of the Women's Hostel, Toronto University, and Student Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. In 1919 she joined the staff of the World's Student Christian Federation, with responsiblity for student relief work in Central Europe and Russia. She also served the British S.C.M. as Missionary Secretary. In 1922 she became Dean of Women,

Toronto University, and University Lecturer in History. In 1926 she paid the first of a number of visits to tropical Africa, after which she was appointed as Secretary of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, a body newly established under the auspices of the International Missionary Council with the co-operation of missionary societies and publishing agencies in Great Britain, Europe, Canada and U.S.A. In her hands it grew to be a valuable instrument for exchanging information and stimulating the preparation and distribution of books for Africans. It was on behalf of this Committee that she was travelling in Uganda at the time of her death.

"To her specialized service in the fostering of literature and literacy in Africa Miss Wrong brought an able mind and wide vision, and her advice was constantly sought on a wide range of colonial problems. She had close contacts with such bodies as the International African Institute and the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Great Britain, and the Carnegie and Phelps Stokes Foundations in the U.S.A. Miss Wrong was the author of several books and innumerable articles on Africa.

"While her work commanded respect for its technical quality Miss Wrong always found time for an infinite variety of personal service and her friendship meant much to a large and varied circle of Africans, government servants, missionaries and ordinary people."

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Colonial Agricultural Production. Sir Alan Pim. Royal Institute of Colonial Affairs. (Oxford University Press, 1946.) ix+190 pp. Price 10/6.

Just now government policies on questions of colonial welfare, and public opinion on the obligations of colonial powers towards Native peoples in their colonies are becoming more liberal. Constitutional changes impose greater administrative responsibilities and offer more political freedom. These changes are necessary to satisfy the aspirations of people whose conception of government is no longer primitive, and who are showing their capacity to share in the management and development of their own land. But an advance in the standard of living must depend largely upon the part the Native peasants can play in the production of crops—both food crops and money crops. The latter have been produced for export in agricultural "plantations" developed by European enterprise. And so an important aspect of the problem has to do with encouraging peasant agriculture without interfering too much with the plantations. In his preface to this book G. E. Hubbard calls it "combining the efficient exploitation of colonial natural resources for the general benefit of mankind with the essential interests of the colonial peoples themselves".

Sir Alan Pim's book is a history of the development of both plantation and peasant agriculture, especially in relation to money crops, in the colonies of the European powers. He traces the development and compares the progress of these two forms of agriculture from the earliest stages of colonial occupation. He discusses the systems of land tenure and the results of various forms of government policy and official control. It is a careful and critical work written about as impartially as a book of this kind can be. Some critics of colonial exploitation have overlooked the benefits which the Native peasants have derived from the plantation system and the legislation which has at times been passed to control it. For instance in the Dutch East Indies before 1840 Java was virtually a plantation producing coffee, sugar and indigo for re-sale in Holland. The Dutch Agrarian Law of 1870 wisely restricted the sale of land to planters and so prevented the growth of the kind of tenancy which is widespread in India. The great increase of agricultural exports from the Outer Islands was another result of enlightened official policy. Now the value of exports from peasant farms is almost two thirds of that from the plantations. This parallel development of the two forms of agriculture has been possible because there has always been plenty of labour.

In Ceylon the shortage of labour in the plantations and the disinclination of the Sinhalese to become hired labourers has hindered the production of money crops on peasant farms. Tea, rubber and coconuts, the principal exports, are produced almost entirely in plantations. Tea-planting occupies about 2,500 estates in the hill-country and of these abour four-fifths are British owned and managed. The author's statement that tea from Sinhalese plantations is inferior will surprise those who have been in Ceylon recently. In the last ten years many plantations have been bought by Sinhalese who have since proved to be entirely competent managers. Under the new constitution Ceylon seems less attractive to Europeans than it was, and the tea-plantations seem likely to pass gradually into the hands of the Sinhalese, who will thus acquire one of the most efficiently-managed agricultural industries in the world.

The author's treatment of the complex problems of the various African colonies is perhaps not quite so complete as we should like it to be. The reader gets the impression that in the French and Belgians colonies the policy of encouraging Natives to grow money crops as well as food

crops, e.g. cotton in Chad and Ubangui-Shari, has succeeded in raising their economic and social standards without disorganizing their tribal life. But in the British colonies progress has been slow because there has been no consistent and uniform policy. In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland there are the special difficulties of a restricted internal market easily disorganized by over-production, as well as the old problem of protecting European settlers from Native competition. Only in Uganda has Native agriculture made great progress. The account of this country ends on an encouraging note: "The experience of Uganda has thus again shown that given an adequate and intelligent native population and Government assistance .... there are few agricultural raw materials which the African peasant is not able to produce. On the other hand non-native capital and enterprise can find wide scope in processing and marketing activities."

The author's general conclusion seems to be that the European planter will in time disappear from colonial life. As the Natives advance economically and socially their capital resources and the capacity of the people themselves will increase. And the plantations will pass into their hands. But for most commodities intended for export processing and marketing organizations will still be necessary and for some time the success of these will probably depend upon foreign capital and enterprise.

S. P. JACKSON.

Moses. M. BUBER. (London, 1946.) 226 pp.

This book by Professor Martin Buber is a disappointment. As a rhetorical study of Moses it is no doubt excellent. As a factual study of this great Jewish leader it is poor. He opens (p. 6) by saying that he regards the prevailing view that the Biblical text is composed of J. and E. documents as incorrect. He does not state his reasons. He naively remarks: "Rather do I believe of most of the Biblical narratives that, underlying each single one, there was a reworking of tradition, which, in the course of the ages, experienced various kinds of treatment under the influence of differing tendencies". The net result is that one is left with Professor Buber's belief—hardly a mark of scholarship.

Professor Buber makes authoritative statements and expects them to be taken as such. Thus, "the universal sun-god of the imperialist Monotheism of Amenhotep IV is incomparably more close to the sun-god of the ancient Egyptian Pantheon than to the God of early Israel, which some have endeavoured to derive from him". Professor Buber offers no evidence in support of this statement. No mention is made of the fact that the 104th Psalm is a Hebrew reproduction of Amenhotep's hymn to the Sun. It is interesting to note Professor Buber inclines to the view that "Habiru" (Hebrew) means "wanderer, yonder men, i.e. foreigners". Habiru would then fall into the category of an "out-group" name and would come into line with "Welsh, Philistine, Wallon and Galla", all of which mean "foreign" and are thus out-group names.

Buber has a chapter called "Upon Eagles' Wings" where, with the remark: "Here Yehovah is likened in His historical relationship with Israel to the eagle, who stirs up his nest and hovers hither and thither above it in order to teach his young how to fly"; one is left wondering why this chapter is so named. Apart from the fact that eagles do not stir up their nests, nor do they teach their younger to fly in the manner suggested, no mention is made that eagle's wings may mean something quite different. Thus, Professor Breasted in his *The Dawn of Conscience*, p. 360, writes: "The winged Sun-god of the Nile was not only to the Hebrews as a God of righteousness, but also as the beneficent protector of his worshippers. Four times the Hebrew Psalmists refer to the protection found 'under (or in) the shadow of thy wings'. As we have before observed, Yahveh was not pictured by the Hebrew as possessing wings; on the other hand, we have impressive sculptured portraits of the Pharaohs with the Sun-god as a falcon hovering with wings outstretched in protection over the sovereign."

Scant attention is paid to the profound effect that forty years as a priest of On had on Moses;

so great was this effect that the Ark of the Covenant, constructed under Moses' supervision, was a reproduction of an Egyptian ark.

On p. 173 one is treated to a whole paragraph of rhetorical questions: "When Moses departed from Egypt, did he wish only to liberate the tribes? Or did he wish to lead them to settle as well? Was the memory of the Canaan of the Fathers at work in him as a hope and aspiration?" What purpose this rhetoric in a study of Moses serves, is hard to see.

The book may bring before the man-in-the-street a picture of Moses as seen by Professor Buber, but no scholar will turn to the book for reference.

There is a minor misprint. A small "o" is used in a line where all the others are capitals, p. 50, line 8 from the top. Professor Buber inclines to the derivation of Y H W H from a pronoun Hu! to such desperate ends are philologists driven.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Motlhankana wa Lima. MARY FABYAN WINDEATT. Translated by the Dominican Fathers, illustrated by Sister Jean, O.P. (Published by Edison's Educational Book Co., Johannesburg.) 133 pp. Price 3/9.

The dearth of literature in Tswana makes the appearance of any new work in that language a welcome event; and those who have contributed to the publication of this little book deserve the thanks of the Tswana-reading public for their enterprise. It tells, simply but quite entertainingly, the story of St. Martin de Porres of Lima; and it could, we think, be perused with some interest and profit by a rather wider circle than that of those to whom books of the devotional type normally appeal.

It is a translation from an English original, and gives considerable internal evidence of this fact; and there are also numerous signs of Southern Sotho influence, tempting one to think that it was first translated into Southern Sotho, and only later adapted into Tswana. The language is usually correct enough, but not thoroughly idiomatic; and there are frequent lapses from typical Tswana idiom, and occasional instances of quite erroneous usage. The spelling is evidently an attempt to follow the orthographic settlement of 1947. The present writer, while considering that that settlement[1] is in several ways unfortunate, feels that the producers of this little volume have done right in trying to carry that settlement out, since it is only by loyal acceptance of an orthography once decided upon that such orthography has any hope of proving its merits or demerits. Unfortunately, however, either the translators or the printers and proof-readers have shown that they still have much to learn about Tswana spelling whatever system of writing the language they attempt to follow. There are rather many obvious misprints: but apart from these, there are numerous cases of downright misspellings according to any system of orthography, the most glaring of these being the frequent omission of essential aspirates. These blemishes are all of a minor nature, and quite easily avoidable; and it is a pity that they should have been allowed to disfigure the text.

G. P. LESTRADE.

Rammônê wa Kgalagadi. M. O. M. Seboni. (Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1947.) 102 pp.

The story related in this little book concerns the life of Rammônê, a Kgalagadi boy from the Kwena Reserve of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. On attaining maturity, he goes to work for some months in the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. After a brief visit to his home, he leaves again to work in Kimberley. Then, with startling and incredible rapidity, he attains a sufficient standard of education apparently within a period of two years, to ensure his admission to Fort Hare

[1] The Editors understand that the "settlement" here referred to was merely contained in minutes of an exploratory conference, the proposals of which are in no way to be considered a final agreement. It is therefore manifestly unwise for any publication to be put out according to these proposals.

from which he graduates five years later as B.A. LL.B. Thereafter, Rammônê becomes a teacher in the O.F.S. Eventually he retires to the Protectorate, where he acts as adviser to the Kwena chief and the administration until his death. Eighteen chapters are devoted to relating events up to this stage. In the next two chapters, the writer moralizes on the life of Rammônê. Then, rather inexplicably, the scene changes for the last three chapters to a narrative of the narrow escape from death of Modise, who is lost in the desert for six days without food or water. Modise, an early acquaintance of Rammônê, had previously led a somewhat dissolute life, but is now converted to better ways.

Events narrated in the book lack cohesion and chronological sequence. Modise, a grown-up man when Rammônê first goes to the mines, is apparently still young and unmarried when he gets lost in the desert, yet this appears to take place after Rammônê's death at a ripe old age. Rammônê's pet dog, first described in his boyhood days, seems also to have had a human span of life. His parents, described as old when he returns from the mines, apparently live to see his children graduate with degrees in arts, science and medicine.

Seboni's use of orthography shows a number of deviations from the usages prescribed by the 1937 conference and subsequently given official sanction. Particularly noticeable is the use of *ya* instead of *a* in the present tense definite, e.g. *Ke ya rapêla* instead of *Ke a rapêla* (I pray) In other cases however, he is in the company of most other writers who have used this othography. The use of capital *O* for the subjectival concord of the second person singular has led him into difficulties: he uses it in a number of cases for the third person also. In recording tribal and national names and languages, Seboni shows inconsistency. We find for example, *Betswana*, *Be-Tswana* and *Se Kgalagadi*. Separation of prefix from stem is incorrect, as also is use of the hyphen, even according to the present "disjunctive" system of word-division. His word-division throughout shows many inconsistencies. But this raises the important question as to when and where capitals should be used in Tswana and other Bantu languages. In such cases, should we capitalize the initial letter of the prefix, or of the stem, or both? It is to be hoped that a decision on this question can be reached in the near future.

There are unfortunately many printing errors, and words are very frequently divided incorrectly at the end of a line, resulting in digraphs and trigraphs being broken. Seboni's use of his language is very good. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the book from a literary point of view. The book tends to make rather dull and uninteresting reading, yet the striking description of the train on p. 31 shows that he has literary ability which is worthy of development and training.

D. T. COLE.

Wörterbuch der Djaga-Sprache (Madjame-Mundart). E. MÜLLER. 25. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen. (Hamburg: Eckardt & Messtorff, 1947.) 55+411 pp.

In May 1848, exactly 100 years ago, the Rev. J. Rebmann, who served with the Church Missionary Society, visited Kilimanjaro as the first European. The dictionary under review, which embodies the speech of the inhabitants of that East African mountain, is thus a welcome centenary gift. Chagaland is divided by deep ravines into many isolated triangular tablelands, so its historical development favoured the establishment of many small chieftainships. Each political entity has its cultural peculiarities and forms a dialect unit. The dialects of Chaga can be placed into two groups, the eastern group with Moshi as the most important form and the western group where Machame is most representative. Chaga, however, is spoken not only by the 100,000 inhabitants of Kilimanjaro, but also in Ugueno, the northern district of the Pare Hills, whose other occupants speak Asu, and in the eastern half of Mt. Meru (Uro), forms an enclave in the Masai-speaking area.

The differences between the Chaga dialects are in phonetics as well as in vocabulary and grammar.

Phonetically, the West lacks the *tsh* and *h* sounds which occur in the East. The vocabulary differences extend to such basic words as "milk", "bull" and "to count" (in the West: *malela*, *shau*, *–ekeena*; in the East: *maruwa*, *bung'a*, *–dala*). Grammatically the *mu*-locative (18th Meinhof class) is missing in Moshi but present in Machame. This linguistic diversity has hampered the literary work of the Leipzig Lutheran Mission. Their original decision 50 years ago to develop one of the dialects for literary purposes had to be abandoned, and primers, readers, hymn books and gospels have been prepared in two, three or even four parallel editions!

This dictionary deals with the Machame dialect spoken by about one fifth of the total population. The book's value is enhanced by two introductions from the pen of the late Prof. Meinhof. The first gives a lucid and comprehensive account of Machame sounds, the second a brief sketch of its grammar. A list of about 20 publications on the linguistics of Chaga completes this part. It also refers to translations and collections of texts (including the famous three volumes by Gutmann on the initiation lessons). It is to be regretted that a comparison between the rather elaborate script used in the dictionary, involving no less than 66 different signs, and the very much simpler script, employed in school and translation work, has been omitted. Meinhof draws attention to striking similarities in the phonetics of Chaga and Duala in the Cameroons. In my opinion these resemblances are possibly due to the fact that both languages underwent the same sound changes as a result of their both being exposed to the influence of non-Bantu languages; both lie close to the Bantu Line.

The body of the dictionary shows the typical Bantu vocabulary. One main interest of the language lies in the concrete sphere of actions and things. Bananas are differentiated into many species, but superimposed upon this nomenclature is another by which they are named according to their stages of growth. Similar multiple systems of names have been evolved for beans, taro and yams. In the animal kingdom at least 30 different species of insects are named. Among the verbs, *-kaba*, *rumbwa* and *-lya* (meaning to strike, to cut and to eat) have been singled out to form, in combination with nouns, idiomatic expressions of the most varied meanings.

The inexhaustible store of concrete concepts provides the instruments for abstract thought. The whole of Chagaland, for instance, is well circumscribed by a term meaning: the country-of-the-banana-leaf-midribs. The human body and the typical hut are employed as points of reference for geographical directions: west is "in front" and east "at the back" because the Machame hut opens to the west. The expressions for north and south, however, take reference to the mountain slope.

The third point brought out by Müller's vocabulary is that Bantu speech is stratified according to social status. This is rather implicit in the detailed table of relationship terms. It is more apparent in various terms used by women and children only. But even the words listed as borrowed from Masai, Swahili and English are in vogue with definite social sets only and not used by all speakers of the language. For decades, for instance, Masai has supplied to Chaga the names by which the successive age-classes are known; it has also provided Chaga with the ideals of conduct for young men from the time before circumcision to after marriage (cf. *uloinoni*, *shoshona*, *tasi*, *songoroi*, *yansire*).

It is a pity that Müller's point of view has been "puristic" to the extent of excluding a great number of words borrowed and of expressions coined during the last fifty years. He does in fact note an expression by which Christians were called "aproned rams" by way of referring to their alleged chastity. But he omits later expressions for Christians meaning "the people with two dresses" or "God's family". Müller also fights shy of listing the terms evolved more than forty years ago to express the Christian concepts. Some of these are completely Bantu in conception, e.g. the term for "grace" which originally meant "a royal gift".

The book is well produced. The subject matter recorded on its 550 pages attains the standard one has come to expect of German scientific writings.

O. F. Raum.

The Missionary and Anthropology. G.H. SMITH. (Chicago: Moody Press, 1947.) 159 pp. No index.

This revised edition, should be rewritten. The times have moved since Sir John Lubbuck and de Quatrefages wrote on Anthropology. The fault of this book is that too much of the material is drawn from writers in the previous century. Lubbuck, Quatrefages, Reclus, Whitney, are all freely quoted and are all writers of the last century. Notes and Queries is freely quoted but why use the 1912 edition ?

There is nothing on "Acculturation", to use the American term ; a very serious omission. The missionary aspect is stressed as is to be expected from a missionary, but one is a little perturbed to note that in the scientific field the final appeal is not to facts but to authority. "Dr. Zwemer's book should be in the hands of every missionary. He refutes the sterile and materialistic theories of the evolutionists with the majestic truth of Holy Writ."

One feels that theories are best disproved or upset by providing facts that do not fit them.

One wishes that a missionary like Edwin Smith would write a book on similar lines.

This book does fill a want in the Mission Field. As an introduction to Anthropology for those who have never had any such training before going into the field it is useful, buf I doubt today whether any Mission body lets its novices into the field without some preliminary training.

As a book for students attending a course it might be a useful introduction but I feel that much deadwood could be cut out and new timber introduced on matters of culture-contacts. His chapter two on "What is Anthropology" is good and also his chapter on Primitive Religion. The book should be in libraries available for first year students to read.

Another important omission is any mention of witchcraft, even in the Glossary. His chapter on Method ignores the sound criteria for field work as laid down by the Functionalist School. In the Glossary under group-marriage is mentioned that "no such form of marriage is known to exist at present". But it appears that there is still a form practised by the Gilyaks on the Island of Sakhalin.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

The Uniform of Colour. HILDA KUPER. (Witwatersrand University Press.) Text 155 pp. 32 plates.

This is a companion volume to the author's recent work "An African Aristocracy" and it bears as a sub-title "A Study of White-Black Relationships in Swaziland".

The book is based primarily on material collected during the years 1934–7 and this is its fundamental weakness. Ten pregnant years passed before the book was published and the reader is left with a feeling of having been let down by not having a more up-to-date account of the effect of those fateful years on what the author describes as the fundamental situation of European domination of the Swazi. However, a stale loaf is better than no loaf and as Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé says in the Foreword "There is much food for thought in this volume".

Mrs. Kuper is well aware of this weakness but has nevertheless published the work because she considers the "basic pattern of White-Black relationship remains unchanged".

The book is divided into seven chapters and has thirty-two plates illustrating various phases of Swazi life.

The first chapter deals with the distribution of land consequent upon the partition of the Territory after the concession era. It shows that, in common with many other parts of the world, the Swazi use the land available to them "with extravagant ignorance". It also shows that the Swazi are not a self-supportting peasantry and that they have to earn money in employment both inside and outside the Territory to buy food and other necessities. The author shows how employment on the mines in the Union has given a deeper social significance than economic necessity dictates and says: "Inducing young men of all ranks to work in the Union is the desire for excitement, freedom from parental control, or the wish to

prove their manhood and win the admiration of the girls. Work on the mines is considered have replaced warfare . . . . "

A trend resulting from migrant labour which the author notes is that the Swazi are developing a Bantu as opposed to a Swazi consciousness.

The title chapter on the uniform of colour analyses the racial composition of the Territory and deals with the conceptions of the various racial ingredients regarding each other and with the status reactions between the various groups. Mrs. Kuper maintains that throughout South Africa colour has become the primary index in all activities but notes that as time goes on the bonds between the groups increase and even the most prejudiced will have to admit their interdependence.

It is in the chapters on Native Policy and the Hierarchy of Office that the reader feels the greatest need for more up-to-date information and the subsequent chapters on Missions and on Traders and Recruiters while they contain material of permanent value regarding culture contacts suffer from the same deficiency.

Mrs. Kuper reaches certain general conclusions. An important one is that "as long as the policy of migrant labour continues it is impossible to build up a self-supporting stable peasantry and the Swazi (like other rural Africans) will remain the unskilled labourers in European industry and in agriculture". She considers that the effect of new conditions had been to exaggerate existing lines of cleavage, e.g. conflicts between youth and age, between men and women, and between chief and commoner but she finds that the established hierarchy derives strength from representing the nation in its opposition to the Europeans. The radical changes which have occurred during the last century have nevertheless left a considerable residue of traditional culture but this residue is unstable and belongs to a passing order.

B. A. M.

Marriage in Langa Native Location. RUTH LEVIN. Communication from the School of African Studies (New Series No. 17) University of Cape Town. (July 1947.) 123 pp., 5*s*.

In this thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Anthropology) of the University of Cape Town we find another woman entrant to the ranks of the anthropologists who have made special studies in the field of urban African sociology. The comparatively recent establishment (1927) of the Langa location and the recency of large-scale African urbanization in the Cape Peninsula lends this study special interest.

The quality of the study is difficult to assess. Miss Levin, in her introduction, admits certain shortcomings. The chief cause of her dissatisfaction lies in the inadequate time which she had at her disposal. It is also unfortunate that Miss Levin was unable to visit selected families by night when observations might have been made and further information gathered from the complete family unit. Nevertheless it is understandable that a young European woman would hesitate to pay night visits to the location. Dr. Simon's introductions must have proved most useful in enabling Miss Levin to establish good contacts with Langa residents.

The fact that customary unions are not registered, the absence of official divorce rates and the inadequacy of other primary source material which should be available from official records must have hampered a research worker already pressed for time. The confused position of Native "marriages" and "customary unions" and of the status and rights of spouses to which Mr. Julius Lewin, for example, has made frequent reference has wide repercussions, derived rates, such as these for illegitimacy, must remain suspect until Native unions are regularized in a precise manner.

There are defects, however, which should have been avoided. Of these the complete absence of maps of the Langa location is worthy of mention. Even one sketch map would have helped readers to picture the lay-out of Langa and to visualize its position in relation to the parent city of Cape Town. The use of such a map with even rough conventional signs would have been useful and would have made description easier. The first footnote on page 5 brings this home, it is meaningless in its present form.

Again, a more detailed account of the sampling procedure would have been of assistance. It is made clear that the "great bulk of the material was collected by means of social interviews", but the sample results are quoted frequently in the form of percentages in different tables. It is confusing to observe .

(i) that a questionnaire "was applied to a random sample of one house in ten".
(ii) that "the sample was confined to the married quarters".
(iii) that there are 1,030 married quarters.
(iv) that "among the sample families four couples, that is 5 %, were living *uku/we/wa*".

Other brief statements such as the following are encountered:

(a) the inhabitants "differ in their degree of urbanization".
(b) "the higher rented houses contain in general people belonging to the better economically off category."
(c) "the above criteria indicate then, that marriage is extremely stable ; the tests applied to the sample families, however, do not, I believe, give an accurate picture of location conditions."
(d) "Again, the sample is not accurate in the sense that it treated mostly the older generation and instability, as far as I could learn, seems to occur far more frequently among the younger people."

Statements like the above do not convey any accurate information. One is left wondering about the precise influence of factors such as the "degree of urbanization", differences in wealth and age on marriages in Langa.

On the more positive side one must record that much useful information is contained in the chapters headed : Preliminaries to Marriage, Forms of Marriage, The Marriage Relationship and The Dissolution of Marriage.

The principal impression gathered from this work is the extent to which tribal institutions, customs and attitudes have been affected by urban life. The fact that the majority of the sample families had married in the rural areas occupied by the Xhosa and Fingo peoples adds interest. Traditional sanctions are shown to have lost much of their force in the completely different social environment. The many factors making for marital instability are analysed and are stated to exceed considerably those factors which serve to promote stability. Among the factors which make for instability Miss Levin lists : the change in the function of *lobola*, the weakening of the power of kinsmen, the lack of organized public opinion, the separation of husband and wife when visits are paid to the country, the marked disproportion in the sexes in the town where males outnumber the females and the poverty of urban existence which tempts wives to gain money by anti-social means.

It is interesting to note the continued belief in diviners, herbalists and love magic. In addition, *lobola*, despite changes in its function, is shown to play an important part in the lives of Langa residents including educated Africans of professional class and those who marry by Christian or civil rites. One may add that this attachment to *lobola* seems to be very general in the urban areas. In Durban the reviewer has questioned a number of African school-teachers on their attitude to *lobola* and has found that both men and women favour the payment of *lobola*. At first it seems that the long and arduous task of saving money is made futile by the spending of this money largely on wedding expenses, but Miss Levin records that "in spite of the changes in the nature of *lobola* it appears as if it is often precisely these marriages in which *lobola* is paid that are the most successful and of longest duration".

A valuable feature of this study is the Chapter VI which contains the writer's conclusions and compares the Langa observations with the observations of other anthropologists who have undertaken field-work in South African urban areas. This section reminds us of the gaps in our knowledge which require to be filled by further studies. Miss Levin also lists the similarities and differences of Langa marriage when compared with marriage in other cities. In summing up she tentatively observes that the pattern of marriage is generally similar among Africans living in diffe-

rent urban areas of the Union, although differences do occur. One such difference is that "Langa appears to be the most stable of the Native urban communites, as evidenced by the comparatively small number of illegitimate births and illicit unions", but it is rightly stated that this broad comparison is inconclusive and tentative, because quantitative and qualitative material is lacking.

It is important to emphasize this statement and to stress the danger of broad inter-urban comparisons in the light of our present scant knowledge. One excerpt from the report of the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry, 1946–48, should make this clear: "At present there are 31,000 Natives of whom service contracts are registered in the Peninsula. 11,000 are housed in Langa, and another 5,000 obtain approved accommodation from their employers. The rest (16,000) live mainly in dwellings that are not fit for habitation."

This latest communication from the Cape Town School of African Studies is a useful addition to our literature on urban African life. All readers will agree with Miss Levin's view that "the need for more intensive research into urban Native conditions is great".

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